

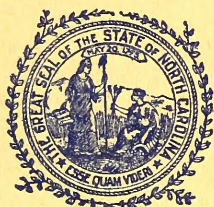
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Vol. XII

JULY, 1912

No. 1

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLNA
HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

Volume XII of THE BOOKLET will be issued quarterly by the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, beginning July, 1912. THE BOOKLET will be published in July, October, January, and April. Price \$1.00 per year, 35 cents for single copy.

EDITOR:

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

VOLUME XII

History of Union County, Including the Waxhaw Settlement.

Mr. Ney McNeely

The Forest (Poem).....*Mr. R. F. Jarrett*

Masonic Revolutionary Patriots in North Carolina.

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood

Our Forests—What They Have Done, Are Doing, and May Do

for North Carolina.....*Dr. Collier Cobb*

Some Notable Senatorial Campaigns in North Carolina.

Judge Robert W. Winston

Historic Homes, Part VI: Palmyra in the Happy Valley.

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Elizabeth Maxwell Steele: the Famous Revolutionary Patriot.

Dr. Archibald Henderson

Reprint of Washington's Diary, written in North Carolina.

The Confederacy (Poem).....*Mr. R. F. Jarrett*

History of the Whig Party in North Carolina.

North Carolina's Social Life, Ante-bellum.....*Major E. J. Hale*

How "Carolina" Came to be Written.....*Mr. Jaques Busbee*

Old letters, heretofore unpublished, bearing on the Social Life of the different periods of North Carolina's History, will appear hereafter in THE BOOKLET.

This list of subjects may be changed, as circumstances sometimes prevent the writers from keeping their engagements.

The histories of the separate counties will in the future be a special feature of THE BOOKLET. When necessary, an entire issue will be devoted to a paper on one county.

THE BOOKLET will print abstracts of wills prior to 1800, as sources of biography, history and genealogy. Mrs. M. G. McCubbins will contribute abstracts of wills and marriage bonds in Rowan County to the coming volume. Hon. F. D. Winston will furnish similar data from Bertie County.

Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has consented to edit the Biographical Sketches hereafter.

Parties who wish to renew their subscriptions to THE BOOKLET for Vol. XII are requested to give notice at once.

Many numbers of Volumes I to XI for sale.

Vol. XII

JULY, 1912

No. 1

The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."*

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

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THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XII

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SWANNANOA

By CALVIN H. WILEY.
In North Carolina Reader, 1855.

Swannanoa, nymph of beauty,
I would woo thee in my rhyme,
Wildest, brightest, loveliest river
Of our sunny Southern clime!
Swannanoa, well they named thee,
In the mellow Indian tongue;
Beautiful* thou art, most truly,
And right worthy to be sung.

I have stood by many a river,
Known to story and to song—
Ashley, Hudson, Susquehanna,
Fame to which may well belong;—
I have camped by the Ohio,
Trode Scioto's fertile banks,
Followed far the Juniata,
In the wildest of her pranks,—

But thou reignest queen forever,
Child of Appalachian hills,
Winning tribute as thou flowest,
From a thousand mountain rills.

*Swannanoa, in the Indian tongue (Cherokee) signifies *beautiful*.

Thine is beauty, strength-begotten,
'Mid the cloud begirded peaks,
Where the patriarch of the mountains*
Heav'nward for thy waters seeks.

Through the laurel and the beeches,
Bright thy silvery current shines,
Sleeping now in granite basins,
Overhung by trailing vines,
And anon careering onward
In the maddest frolic mood,
Waking, with its sea-like voices,
Fairy echoes in the wood.

Peaceful sleep thy narrow valleys,
In the shadow of the hills,
And thy flower-enameled border,
All the air with fragrance fills.
Wild luxuriance, generous tillage,
Here alternate meet the view,
Every turn, through all thy windings,
Still revealing something new.

Where, O graceful Swannanoa,
Are the warriors who of old
Sought thee at thy mountain sources,
Where thy springs are icy cold—
Where the dark brow'd Indian maidens,
Who their limbs were wont to lave
(Worthy bath for fairer beauty)
In thy cool and limpid wave?

* Black Mountain.

Gone forever from thy borders,
But immortal in thy name,
Are the Red Men of the forest!
Be thou keeper of their fame!
Paler races dwell beside thee,
Celt and Saxon till thy lands,
Wedding use unto thy beauty—
Linking over thee their hands.

UNION COUNTY AND THE OLD WAXHAW SETTLEMENT

By ROBERT NEY McNEELY.

The territory lying between the Rocky River and the Catawba and which now comprises Union County, North Carolina, was, prior to the coming of the white settlers, inhabited by a tribe of Indians called the "Waxhaws," from whom the Waxhaw Settlement took its name. Aside from the traditions of the Catawba Indians, a kindred tribe of the Waxhaws, of the battles between the Waxhaws and neighboring tribes of Indians, the earliest information we have of the Waxhaws is the mention made by John Lawson, Surveyor-General of the Carolinas, who on the last day of the year 1699 left Charlestown, South Carolina, and made his way up through the Carolinas on a surveying or rather prospecting tour. He had with him one man, and he tells in his diary that when they reached the settlement of the Waxhaw Indians the chief of the tribe received them cordially, entertained them in his wigwam, and gave them every assistance that he could; that the man he had with him married one of the Indian girls the first evening they were in the Waxhaws, that on the next morning he awoke and found that his new Indian wife had secretly abandoned him in the night and had carried away with her all of his clothes, valuables, a pair of moccasins and a red bandana handkerchief, and that the chief upon being informed of the loss that the groom had suffered ordered some of his men to go in search of the young lady, had her brought back and compelled her to restore the stolen articles.

In about the year 1740 the Waxhaw Indians were attacked

with an epidemic of smallpox, a disease theretofore unknown to this tribe, which killed so many of them as to cause the tribe to disband and join the Catawbas and other neighboring tribes. The lands covered by the village of the Waxhaws were later embraced in the farm of Capt. Andrew Pickens on Waxhaw Creek. Upon this territory becoming abandoned by the Indians, the land agents, finding so goodly a land unmolested by savages and claimed by no one, immediately began an advertising scheme to bring desirable immigrants to it from any and all places where the best class of immigrants could be found. This brought settlers from Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the already settled portions of North Carolina. The Scotch-Irish settlers from Pennsylvania made what has always been termed "The Waxhaw Settlement," which comprises Jackson and Sandy Ridge townships in Union County and a portion of Lancaster County across the South Carolina line. Vance and Goose Creek townships were settled mostly by people from Rowan and Cabarrus counties. New Salem, Marshville, and Lane's Creek townships were settled by people from Virginia and the settled portions of North Carolina. Buford Township was settled by immigrants from Germany, and Monroe Township was settled by immigrants from all the places hereinbefore named.

At the time of the coming of the white settlers this territory was covered with a massive forest of oak, pine and other timber. There was no underbrush, the trees were large, rather far apart, high to the limbs and heavy topped—so, that, while the rays of the sun could hardly reach the ground through the thick tree tops, the view from the ground of the surface of the country was unbroken except by the large tree trunks which like rustic columns supported the canopy of

foliage above. For grazing the territory was unsurpassed, for the grass grew almost waist high and the country was covered with a thick growth of wild pea vines. Here the pioneer hunter found game in abundance and fish in every stream.

The territory which is now Union County was until 1749 included in the boundary of Bladen, after which time until 1763 it was included in the boundary of Anson, and from 1763 until the county of Union was established in 1842 one-half of the territory belonged to Anson and the other half to Mecklenburg. So, the best of both Mecklenburg and Anson was taken to make Union.

The Waxhaw Settlement was made in 1751 by the Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania. These people, after the siege of Londonderry, had come to Pennsylvania, pushed forward to the western frontiers until they found themselves in immediate contact with the Indians, among whom the French hostile influence was predominant, and with whom they had speedily become involved in quarrels in which the rich but peaceable Pennsylvania Quakers refused to give assistance, and in the hope of securing both friendlier neighbors and a milder climate they had left Pennsylvania and had come down, following the foot of the mountains until they reached the Waxhaws. Among these immigrant settlers was Andrew Pickens, father of General Andrew Pickens of Revolutionary fame, who soon organized the men of the settlement into a company of militia, and the North Carolina State Records show a copy of a report of "Capt. Andrew Pickens, of Anson, in 1755," which gives the names of the men of his company as follows: "Lieutenant, Robert Ramsay; Ensign, John Crocket; Sergeant, Thomas Wright; Sergeant, William Beard; Sergeant, William King; Corporal, Alexander

Crocket; Corporal, John Hagans; Corporal, John Galahen; Corporal, John Martin Cline; Corporal, William Hood, and Privates:

Archie Crocket	John Taylor	Robert McClelland
Andrew Nutt	John Wall	Robert Galt
Andrew Pickens	John Montgomery	Robert Caldwell
Andrew Curswell	John Lockhart	Robert Maheney
Andrew McCoune	John Taggart	Robert McCorkle
Benjamin Thompson	John Bartley	Robert Montgomery
David Miller	James McCorkle	Robert Woods
Phalex Canady	James Walker	Robert Day
George Davis	James Moore	Samuel Rogers
George Walker	Joseph Pickens	Samuel Burnett
George Douglass	Jeremiah Collins	William Davis
Hugh McCain	Joseph Baxter	William Nutt
Hugh Coffey	Moses Davis	William Nutt, Jr.
John Davis	Patrick Coin	William Pickens
John Nutt	Philip Walker	William Arden
John Pickens	Edward Williams	William McKee
John Lynn	Robert Davis	William King
John Arnel Pender	Robert Crockett	William Smith
John Canady	Robert Nutt	William Martin
John Hood	Roger Smith	William Lynn

To this settlement also there came from Scotland and Ireland many immigrants directly. Among these were Andrew Jackson, Sr. (father of the seventh President), Maj. James Crawford, George McCamie, and Messrs. Crow, Latham, and Leslie, all of whom were brothers-in-law, having married sisters—the Hutchinsons—in Carrickfergus, Ireland. To the Waxhaws, too, came Patrick Calhoun, father of South Carolina's greatest statesman. About the same time came Captain James Wauhab (Walkup), who afterwards led his company in the battle of Wauhab's Mill, or as it is locally called, "The Battle of the Waxhaws," and it was here that he met and married Margaret Pickens, one of the sisters of General Andrew Pickens. To the Waxhaws came the Rev.

Alexander Craighead, the Rev. William Richardson, and several other Presbyterian preachers, who were profound scholars and who devoted the full measure of their ability to the educational, religious and political development of the people of the settlement.

The settlers in the Waxhaws built a Presbyterian church—now called the Old Waxhaw Church—just over the line in South Carolina. The location of this church was at the time thought to be in Anson County, N. C., and it was many years later when the State line was run that it first appeared that the church was in South Carolina. The deed given by Rev. Robt. Miller for the church grounds says that it is “lying and being in the county of Anson and State of North Carolina,” and the deed is recorded in Anson County, N. C. This church was always served by an educated ministry, and these ministers not only used the church for religious services on the Sabbath, but for school purposes through the week. The people from over a scope of country for fifteen miles around attended the religious services at this church. The school advantages given by the ministers in this church were equal to any schools of the kind in the southern colonies before the Revolutionary War. The people here purchased good books, well bound in leather, and in the libraries of the people in the Waxhaws to this day may be seen many of the old books of their pioneer ancestors.

Before the beginning of the Revolution the entire territory which had once been the hunting grounds of the Waxhaw Indians, and which is now Union County, had become partially settled throughout. However, except in the Waxhaw Settlement, churches and schools were still not started, and it was after the Revolution that churches and schools were first established among these people. So, the religious and educational training of these children of the pioneers was left to the parents in the homes.

Among these settlers over the county were John Belk, Esquire, from Middlesborough, England; Stephen Billue, Thomas Cochran, James Doster, Maj. John Foster, John Ford (one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence), Richard Griffin, Henry Hargett, from Germany; George Helms and Tilman Helms, from Pennsylvania; James Houston and William Houston, from Virginia; Aaron Howie, John Lemmond, and William Lemmond, from Ireland; George Laney, from Germany; William McRee, Hugh McCain, George McWhorter, Henry McNeely, John McNeely, John McCorkle, David Moore, Charles Montgomery, Capt. Charles Polk, William Pyron, Wm. Osborne, James Ross, John Stilwell, Jesse Stilwell, William Simpson, Jacob Secrest, Emanuel Stevens, Matthew Stewart, John Thompson, John Wentz, and others.

When the Revolution came these people, with the exception of a few who participated in the Mecklenburg Declaration affair, exercised themselves but very little about the war until about the time of the battle of Camden. Tarleton's massacre of Buford's men some fifteen miles southeast of the Waxhaw church over in South Carolina, turned these people from an attitude of almost indifference to the struggle to a fierce and determined participation in it. In the Waxhaws the minister was insulted, his house and books were burnt, and the British soldiers declared war against all Bibles which contained the Scotch version of the Psalms. It was this conduct that fired the people of this section and refilled Sumter's ranks and furnished many of the heroes of Hanging Rock, King's Mountain, Cowpens, Wauhatch's Mill, or The Battle of The Waxhaws, Eutaw Springs, and Blackstocks.

It was the rising of these people which opened the way for Marion's famous partisan warfare from the swamps of the Pee Dee and the Santee, which recalled Cornwallis and delayed him in upper South Carolina, and thus preserved

Washington in the Jerseys from an attack by Cornwallis, until the French fleet was ready to coöperate with him.

In the Waxhaws on the banks of Waxhaw Creek, near the old home place of Col. William Walkup, was fought the battle of The Waxhaws or the battle of Wauhaw's Mill. This battle was the real battle of the Waxhaws, but it is now the common error of almost all historians to speak of the battle of the Waxhaws as being the massacre of Buford's men by Tarleton at the place locally called "The Buford Battle Ground." No marker shows the field whereon the battle of the Waxhaws was fought, although it is one of the battle-fields of the Revolution, and one in which there were a number of killed and wounded, and in which battle Capt. James Wauhaw and several other American commanders, although ultimately defeated, fought for a time bravely and well against superior numbers.

Among the many soldiers of this county in the Revolution were Col. William Richardson Davie, Major John Foster, Capt. James Wauhaw, Capt. Chas. Polk, Capt. John Cuthbertson, Thomas Ashcraft, John Belk, James Belk, Darling Belk, Britton Belk, Jeremiah Clontz, George Carriker, John Ewing, Wm. Houston, John Lemmond, William Lemmond, David Moore, Wm. McCain, John McCain, James McCain, Hugh McCain, Jr., Henry McNeely, John McNeely, George McWhorter, Jas. Ross, Edward Richardson, William Simpson, Emanuel Stevens, John Thompson, Philip Wolfe and numerous others whose names we do not have. Nearly every man in the territory that is now Union County belonged to some military company, and nearly all of them went out and did service for the American cause, but the names of all who did service are not obtainable, the rosters not having been kept, and many of them having been too patriotic to apply for pay, thus failing to get their names on the payrolls. The Britton Belk mentioned as having served in the Revolution was killed

in that war. He was one of the crowd present at the adoption of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. He took with him to that meeting his ten-year-old son, James Belk, and one hundred years later, at the Centennial Celebration of the aforesaid Declaration, this same James Belk, at the age of one hundred and ten years, was present, was introduced to the great gathering by Governor Z. B. Vance and he told the people present his recollection of the affair and how the men threw their hats in air when Colonel Polk finished reading the paper which declared Mecklenburg folks independent.

In the early days The Waxhaws seemed to be a sort of cradle of genius, for no other section wielded so great an influence or furnished so many notable men. Here were the Jacksons, the Calhouns, and the Pickenses. Andrew Jackson was born here. Patrick Calhoun for a time lived here and belonged to the old Waxhaw church. Here General Andrew Pickens grew up and here he married Rebecca Calhoun. Here in the Waxhaws grew up William Richardson Davie, the distinguished partisan leader in the War of the Revolution, Governor of North Carolina, one of the framers of the Constitution of the United States, Minister to France in the time of Napoleon and founder of the University of North Carolina. William H. Crawford, the great Georgian, went from the Waxhaws. So, from this people went out three of the greatest men of their times, Jackson, Calhoun, and Crawford, men who directed the politics of the nation and whose antagonisms became the antagonisms of the nation's people. The Waxhaws produced William Smith, a Judge and United States Senator in South Carolina. Dr. John Brown, one of the early professors in the University of South Carolina, was reared in the Waxhaws, was a schoolmate of Jackson and with him when they were boys in their teens, rode under Davie at Hanging Rock. From the Waxhaws went Stephen

D. Miller, once Governor of South Carolina, and once a Senator of the United States, a man of great power in an age of great men. From the Waxhaws, too, went J. Marion Simms, a surgeon of world-wide fame, and one who, in his department, has never been surpassed. And many another notable man in the early days claimed the Waxhaws for his home.

In the neighborhood of the Waxhaws were many large slave holders, the people had commodious old ante bellum homes, and, while they were far removed from the lines of traffic and the marts of trade, they were a refined and splendid people and exerted considerable influence in both of the Carolinas. When the National Military Academy was about to be established the community of the Waxhaws was influential enough to come within one vote of getting it at the Great Falls on Catawba River, instead of West Point.

After the Revolution, numbers of people—many of them persons who had done service in the American army—came and made their homes in the territory that is now Union County. Among these were John Austin, Bryant Austin, Charles Austin, Thomas Ashcraft, Willis Alsobrooks, Nathaniel Bivens, Samuel Blythe, Samuel Bickett (great grandfather of Attorney-General T. W. Bickett), Redden Bennett, James Benton (a first cousin of Senator Thomas H. Benton), Richard Bass, Willis Bass, John Brewer, James Blair, William Brooks, John Broom, Philip Carriker (Kiker), William Chainey, Simon Crowell, Peter Crowell, Samuel Crowell, Lewis Conder, Charles Dry, Thos. P. Dillon, Moses Eason, Frederick Ezell, Robert Fowler, Thomas Griffin, Jonathan Gordon, Leonard Green, James Gathings, William Howard, Stephen Hasty, Peebles Hasty, Martin Harkey, Richard Hudson, John Hudson, William Hamilton, Dennis Henegan, Samuel Howie, Michael Henegar, James Jenkins, William Long, Rev. Jesse Lewellyn, Thomas Lewis,

Thomas Love, John Lawson, David Moore, Ebenezer Marsh, the widow Margaret Mullis, Henry Massey, Daniel McCollum, Walter Nance, Richard Nash, James Ormond, Samuel Presson, William Potts, Moses Pierce, Peter Parker, William Phillips, Jacob Penegar, Richard Pressley, John Pressley, Levy Presslar, Moses Paxton, Henry Rape, Peter Rape, Thomas Rogers, Robert Russell, Edward Richardson, John Ray, Solomon Rowe, John Shannon, Abram Smith, John Smith, John Stancil, Solomon Simons, Moses Stegall, Andrew Stinson, David Starnes, Frederick Starnes, Thomas Shelby, Joshua Sikes, Cornelius Sikes, Alexander Scott, Thomas Tanner, Moses Tomberlin, John Thomas, Stephen Trull, Rev. Joseph Williams, John Walden, Philip Wolfe, William Winchester, and others. From the people hereinbefore mentioned are descended most of the people of Union County.

When the War of 1812 came the people of this settlement responded to the call for soldiers, and among those who served in that war from what is now Union County were Britton Belk, John Belk, Allen Broom, Henry Clontz, Chas. Crowell, John Cuthbertson, Moses Craig, John Crowell, Peter Chainey, Thos. S. Cochran, Robert Cochran, John Ford, Gideon Freeman, John Funderburk (Vanderberg), Joshua Fincher, Samuel Givens, Samuel Holden, William Helms, Chas. Helms, Joel Helms, Aaron Howey, Henry Hargett, Jr., William Hargett, David Harkey, John Harkey, William Houston, Jesse Ivey, Andrew King, Wm. L. Lemmond, Chas. Laney, John Long, Henry Moser, John McCorkle, Thomas Miller, Hugh McCain, Capt. David Moore, Matthew McCall, James McCall, Hugh McElroy, James Morrison, William Pyron, Moses Purser, John Phillips, James Rone, Daniel Rich, Samuel Rape, Samuel Rayner, Jacob Starnes, William Shelby, Alexander Stewart,

Frederick Starnes, Nathaniel Starnes, Elias Stilwell, Moses Tomberlin, Groves Vincent, Moses Vick, Jesse Yandle, Samuel Yandle, William Yerby (Irby), and others.

Union County was established by an Act of the General Assembly of North Carolina ratified December 19, 1842, being formed from about equal portions of territory taken from Anson and Mecklenburg counties.

Within a few years after the county of Union was established the Mexican War began, and Union furnished her quota of soldiers for that conflict. The soldiers of Union enlisted in Capt. Harrison's company in Mecklenburg, Capt. Arey's company in Cabarrus, and in Capt. McManus' company in Lancaster, South Carolina. In the Mecklenburg company the Union County soldiers were Robert H. Ewing, Cyrus Q. Lemmond, Jackson H. Lemmond, Brown Lemmond, Daniel C. Robinson, William F. Rae, and others. In the Cabarrus company the Union County soldiers were John Wilson Long, Valentine Smith, and others. And in the Lancaster company the Union County soldiers were John Irby, John Gay, W. LaFayette Belk, and others.

In the Civil War Union County furnished twelve companies, as follows:

Company B, 15th N. C. Volunteers	May, 1861
Company B, 26th N. C. Volunteers	June, 1861
Company D, 37th N. C. Volunteers	September, 1861
Company F, 35th N. C. Volunteers	October, 1861
Company B, 48th N. C. Volunteers	February, 1862
Company A, 48th N. C. Volunteers	March, 1862
Company E, 48th N. C. Volunteers	March, 1862
Company F, 48th N. C. Volunteers	March, 1862
Company I, 48th N. C. Volunteers	March, 1862
Company I, 53d N. C. Volunteers	March, 1862
Company C, 10th Battalion Artillery.....	March, 1862
Company F, 71st N. C. Volunteers (2d Regt. Junior Reserves),	
	April, 1864

The soldiers of Union County were always noted for their bravery and skill in the fighting business. He was a Union

North Carolina State Library
Raleigh

UNION COUNTY AND WAXHAW SETTLEMENT.

17

County soldier, William Freezland, who was the first to cross the stone wall on Cemetery Ridge at the battle of Gettysburg.

One of the wealthiest and best of the old Presbyterians in the old Waxhaws was Maj. John Foster, one of the bravest of Revolutionary soldiers. He was buried on the south side of Waxhaw Creek, near where his fine old ante bellum home once stood. His grave is marked by a granite slab on which is this inscription:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
MAJ. JOHN FOSTER
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE JANUARY 22, A. D. 1821
AGED 72 YEARS
HE IMMIGRATED FROM IRELAND A. D. 1765
HE WAS A CAPTAIN OF A TROOP OF HORSE IN THE REVOLUTIONARY
WAR, IN WHICH HE DISTINGUISHED HIMSELF IN SEVERAL
ENGAGEMENTS, AS AN ACTIVE AND BRAVE OFFICER

Grain hid in the earth
Repay's the peasant's care,
And evening sun but sets
To rise more fair.

He has left his beloved wife to lament his loss.

The wise, the just, the pious
And the brave
Live in their deaths and flourish
From the grave.

A man's religion is the leading element in his character in every act of his life, and so it is with a county of men. In the religious life of Union County people, the Baptists, the Methodists, and the Presbyterians have always been predominant. The Scotch-Irish, who made the Waxhaw Settlement, built the first Presbyterian church here, soon after the settlement was made in 1751. The Methodists established McWhorter's Camp Ground, which was the first foothold of Methodism in the county, in the year 1787. Nearly all of the eastern and central parts of Union were originally Bap-

tists. Among the early preachers of the Baptist faith who served these people were Rev. John Bennett, as early as 1790, Rev. Chas. Cook 1800, Rev. Joseph Williams 1805, Rev. Jacob Helms 1815, Rev. Jesse Lewellyn, and Rev. William Taylor 1820, Rev. George Little and Rev. Edmund Davis 1825, and Rev. Solomon Snyder as early as 1835. The county is now covered with splendid churches, all of which are served by able ministers.

Union County has always been free from ambitious politicians, but the people of the county have always been interested in their country's welfare, and have always been careful to elect good men to fill the offices. The following are the names of the men who have served Union County in the capacity of Sheriff, in the order in which they served: William Wilson, John Blount, Alexander Richardson, Darling Rushing, Joshua Sikes, Henry Long, Culpeper Austin, Franklin L. Rogers, John J. Hasty, A. F. Stevens, John W. Griffin, John J. Hasty, A. J. Price, J. P. Horne, B. A. Horne, and John Griffith.

The following are the names of the men who have served Union County in the capacity of Clerk of the Superior Court: Maj. D. A. Covington, J. T. Draffin, W. E. Doster, Hugh M. Houston, John M. Ingram, W. H. Simpson, G. W. Flow, Col. Samuel H. Walkup, G. W. Flow, James C. Huey, Geo. C. McLarty, Frank H. Wolfe, E. A. Armfield, D. A. Houston, and C. E. Houston.

The following are the names of the men who have served Union County in the capacity of Register of Deeds: Thomas P. Dillon, J. M. Greene, J. F. McLure, John W. Holm, J. O. Griffin, W. J. C. McCauley, C. N. Simpson, H. J. Wolfe, F. H. Wolfe, John W. Bivens, P. P. W. Plyler, John M. Stewart, and J. E. Stewart.

The following are the names of the men who have served

Union County in the capacity of Treasurer: Plummer Stewart, James W. Doster, Lemuel Presson, Albert Marsh, Thomas W. Griffin, A. J. Price, G. C. McLarty, James McNeely, Jas. H. Williams, Geo. M. Laney, and J. W. Laney.

The following are the names of the men who have served in the State Senate from Union County: Col. Samuel H. Walkup, Maj. D. A. Covington, Capt. C. M. T. McCauley, Culpeper Austin, Henry B. Adams, J. F. Payne, G. C. McLarty, O. M. Sanders, T. J. Jerome, R. F. Beasley, R. B. Redwine, and R. W. Lemmond.

The following persons have represented Union County in the State Legislature: Dr. J. Williams, Darling Rushing, Col. T. C. Wilson, Cyrus Q. Lemmond, Culpeper Austin, Jonathan Trull, Hugh Downing, Capt. C. M. T. McCauley, Lemuel Presson, David A. Covington, Henry B. Adams, James Houston, J. F. Payne, Jas. A. Marsh, V. T. Cheers, T. C. Eubanks, R. L. Stevens, J. N. Price, J. W. Bivens, C. N. Simpson, E. C. Williams, R. B. Redwine, R. W. Lemmond, R. N. McNeely, John C. Sikes, and R. V. Houston.

The first railroad in Union County was built in 1874. The first newspaper, the *Monroe Enquirer*, was established in 1873. The first bank established in the county was in 1875. The first cotton mill in the county was built in 1891. Today Union County has eight banks, five cotton mills, four lumber factories, two railroads and another in process of construction, more telephones than any county in the State, good rural free delivery, rural telephones, rural graded schools and rural graded roads—except that it is just a little off in the road business. The county has always been noted for the high class of its professional men, and in agriculture the farmers of Union County are unsurpassed by any anywhere. The people of the county are all good people of the

purest Anglo-Saxon type, with no infusion of foreign blood, are descended from worthy ancestors, have been prolific enough to have sent immigrants to every State in the south and the west without decreasing the population at home, are keeping apace with the progress of the times, and are living up to the high standard which has been maintained in the county since the days of the pioneer settlers.

THE MASONIC REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOTS OF NORTH CAROLINA*

By MARSHALL DeLANCEY HAYWOOD,
HISTORIAN OF THE MASONIC GRAND LODGE OF NORTH CAROLINA, GENERAL
HISTORIAN OF THE SOCIETY OF SONS OF THE REVOLUTION,
HISTORIOGRAPHER OF THE DIOCESE OF NORTH
CAROLINA, ETC.

On February 22d (Washington's birthday), 1910, an association of patriotic Masons was formed for the purpose of building in Alexandria, Virginia, a Masonic Temple which is to be *A Memorial to Washington the Mason*. This building will also be a storehouse for a collection of Washington relics of untold value now kept in the lodge room in Alexandria. In connection with this movement, the authorities of Alexandria-Washington Lodge, No. 22, of which Washington was the first Worshipful Master, intend to publish a volume which will relate chiefly to Washington himself—the incidents connected with his life, ancestry, relatives, personal associates, etc.—at the same time introducing therein some account of Masonic patriots from various States who bore a part (either civil, military or naval) in the War for American Independence. Having been requested to give some account of those Masons in North Carolina who participated in that glorious contest, I comply most willingly—glad of the opportunity of aiding to perpetuate the recollection of their deeds, and also wishing to honor the memory of their great commander and Masonic brother, as a true North Carolinian should. Honors from the Old North State to Washington, both during his lifetime and after his death,

* An address delivered before the 125th annual communication of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina, at Raleigh, January 9, 1912.

have been many and marked. In 1777 the county of Washington, in North Carolina, was erected out of a territory theretofore known as Washington District, on the western frontier. When the State of North Carolina ceded Tennessee to the Union of States, the county of Washington went with it. In 1799, a second county of Washington in North Carolina was created, so far east that it could not be taken up by another new State, unless that State should be located in Albemarle Sound or the Atlantic Ocean. Long before the city of Washington, in the District of Columbia, was established in 1791, the town of Washington, in North Carolina (chartered by the Legislature of 1782) was a proud namesake of the victorious leader of our armies in the war then closing. In 1815, the State of North Carolina gave an order to the world's greatest sculptor of that day, Antonio Canova, for an elegant marble statue of Washington (clad as a Roman Consul) which was completed and delivered in 1821. It was later destroyed by fire with the old Capitol at Raleigh in 1831, after which our people brooded over their loss for about fifteen years, and then consoled themselves by having a bronze replica made from Houdon's marble statue of Washington in Richmond, said to be the most lifelike representation of the General in existence.

Several Lodges in North Carolina have been named in honor of Washington, including "American George Lodge," chartered in 1789, with the heroic Revolutionary veteran Lieutenant-Colonel Hardy Murfree as its Worshipful Master. Honors paid to Washington in person without stint were the result of his tour through North Carolina in 1791; and, when he had finished his course on earth, and his mortal remains had been laid to rest with Masonic honors, meetings were held in various Lodges throughout the State to bear testimony to his greatness and worth, both as a patriot and a

Mason. The Grand Lodge of North Carolina formally notified all subordinate Lodges within its jurisdiction of the loss which America and Masonry had sustained, and recommended to the Brethren that they should wear mourning for the space of one month.

To write a complete history of Freemasonry in the Revolution would be almost equivalent to writing a history of the war itself. From the immortal Washington, commander-in-chief, and his principal Generals (Arnold alas! not excepted) down to many worthy privates in the regiments under them; from John Paul Jones, the greatest of our fighters on the ocean, down to the hardy seamen who manned his guns; from Grand Masters Benjamin Franklin, Peyton Randolph, and other great leaders in the Continental Congress, down to less famous participants in the councils of the young republic—in all grades of civil society, in all ranks of military and naval life—a knowledge of Masonry could be found. And in no one of the Thirteen Colonies did the Order number among its members more patriotic military and political leaders than those who lived in North Carolina. In colonial days the highest Masonic rank attained by any person in the New World was that conferred upon Colonel Joseph Montfort, of Halifax, North Carolina, when the Duke of Beaufort, Grand Master of England, commissioned him "Provincial Grand Master of and for America," on January 14, 1771. Montfort threw the weight of his great influence to the side of the Colonies in 1775-'76. He was elected a member of the Provincial Congress of North Carolina which assembled at New Bern, in April, 1775, but was too ill to serve; and he died on March 25, 1776, before the war had well begun. On February 13, 1911, a massive and beautiful granite monument was erected over his remains in front of the old Masonic Hall in

Halifax (to which spot they had been removed from their original resting place), and on this is the following inscription:

THE RIGHT WORSHIPFUL
JOSEPH MONTFORT
BORN IN ENGLAND A. D. 1724
DIED AT HALIFAX, N. C.
MARCH 25, A. D. 1776

Appointed Provincial Grand Master of and for
America on Jan. 14, A. L. 5771 (A. D. 1771)

BY THE DUKE OF BEAUFORT

Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of England, A. F. and A. M.

First Clerk of the Court of Halifax County

Treasurer of the Province of North Carolina

Colonel of Colonial Troops

Member Provincial Congress

ORATOR - STATESMAN - PATRIOT - SOLDIER

THE HIGHEST MASONIC OFFICIAL EVER REIGNING
ON THIS CONTINENT

THE FIRST - THE LAST - THE ONLY
GRAND MASTER OF AMERICA

The claim made for the primacy of Montfort over other Provincial Grand Masters of America (of whom there were several) lies in the fact that the commissions of the others limited their powers to those parts of the Continent where no other Provincial Grand Master exercised jurisdiction, while Montfort was given absolute authority without this limitation.

Enclosing the grave, over which lies the above mentioned monument, is an iron fence, on the locked gate of which is a bronze tablet inscribed as follows:

THE GRAVE OF MONTFORT

This gate swings only by order
of the Worshipful Master of
ROYAL WHITE HART LODGE
to admit a Pilgrim Mason.

The erection of this monument, which was dedicated with imposing ceremonies amid a great gathering of Masons from North Carolina and elsewhere, was the preliminary step toward erecting a Masonic Hall at Halifax as a memorial to Montfort, by the Joseph Montfort Memorial Association, an organization which chiefly owes its existence to the energy and devotion of Harry W. Gowen, of Royal White Hart Lodge. This lodge owns many priceless relics and records of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, including a Master's chair, led up to by three steps, which are a part of the chair itself (the same which was used in Colonial days by Montfort), a Bible presented to the lodge by Montfort, Montfort's commission from Grand Master the Duke of Beaufort, and the original charter of Royal White Hart Lodge from the same English source, together with minute books and other manuscript records which tell the history of the lodge from 1764 down to the present time, with a few omissions. It is sincerely to be hoped that the Masonic fraternity will see that the Hall at Halifax is built. Aside from the precious records and relics which it will house, it is a memorial which the memory of Montfort fully deserves; for he was no figure-head, but a live, energetic, active Grand Master who paid frequent personal visits to the lodges over which he had jurisdiction, as shown by the only extant Colonial minute books in North Carolina, which are now at Halifax, New Bern, Edenton, and Warrenton.

Cornelius Harnett was Deputy Provincial Grand Master under Montfort, at the outbreak of the Revolution, and the name of a greater patriot has never adorned the annals of his native State. Harnett filled many positions of perilous prominence under the new government, being President of the Provincial Council of North Carolina, a member of the Continental Congress of the United Colonies, etc. So great was his activity in the cause of liberty, and so obnoxious was

he to the British, that Sir Henry Clinton excepted him by name, together with Robert Howe (another Mason), from the operation of a general proclamation of amnesty by means of which he hoped to effect a reconciliation between Great Britain and her rebellious colonies in America during the year 1776. Later on in the war, Harnett was captured, and he died a prisoner in Wilmington, after being subjected to inhuman treatment by his captors. When the news of his death reached Unanimity Lodge, in Edenton, June 27, 1781, "it was agreed by the brethren that they shall immediately go into mourning for the Right Worshipful Cornelius Harnett, Esquire, late Grand Master of the State of North Carolina." Before the Revolution, as already noted, Harnett had been Deputy Provincial Grand Master of America under Montfort, his office being vacated by Montfort's death in 1776, and the above quoted action by Unanimity Lodge gives rise to an interesting question as to whether Harnett received another commission later on from some other source, constituting him Provincial Grand Master of North Carolina. In 1906 the Society of Colonial Dames of America erected in Wilmington a handsome monument to the memory of Harnett and other colonists and patriots of the Cape Fear.

There is a tradition that the Committees of Safety, in the early stages of the Revolution, were composed almost exclusively of Masons, and that the committee meetings (often being in secret) were usually held in the lodge rooms. The *leaders* of those committees and of the State Congresses in North Carolina were certainly Masons, as the records show. After active hostilities had begun at Lexington, Massachusetts, and the news of that battle flew to the southward, it was sent through North Carolina to the patriots of South Carolina and Georgia by such well-known Masons as Richard Cogdell and Joseph Leach, of the committee in New Bern, Cornelius Harnett, of the committee in Wilmington, and Robert

Howe, of the committee in Brunswick. From that time up to the adoption of the State Constitution, three Provincial Congresses met in North Carolina and were presided over as follows: the Provincial Congress at Hillsborough, in August, 1775, Samuel Johnston, President, who was the first Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of North Carolina after the war; the Provincial Congress at Halifax, in April, 1776, Samuel Johnston again President; and the Provincial Congress at Halifax, in November, 1776, Richard Caswell, President, who succeeded Johnston as Grand Master after the Revolution. When these Congresses were not in session the supreme legislative body of the State was a Provincial Council, presided over by Cornelius Harnett, to whose high rank in Masonry we have already referred. After independence was declared, Richard Caswell was elected the first Governor of the State.

To the bitter warfare between Whig and Tory, which devastated North Carolina, is probably due the loss of practically all Masonic records of the Colonial and Revolutionary periods except those owned by Royal White Hart Lodge, now No. 2, at Halifax; Johnston-Caswell Lodge, No. 10, at Warrenton (these being the records of Blandford or Blandford-Bute Lodge, the former name of Johnston-Caswell); St. John's Lodge, now No. 3, at New Bern, and Unanimity Lodge, now No. 7, at Edenton. The records of Royal White Hart Lodge, Halifax, begin on November 1, 1764, and run through most of the Colonial period, but omit the Revolution, later beginning again; those of Blandford, or Blandford-Bute, Lodge (now called Johnston-Caswell), Warrenton, begin on April 29, 1766, end on June 24, 1768, and begin again on April 6, 1782; those of St. John's Lodge, New Bern, begin on January 9, 1772, and break off on June 24, 1773, starting up again *on the same page of the minute book* (showing that nothing has been torn out) on March 16, 1787, without a

word of explanation as to omission, though the lodge was then probably dormant; and the records of Unanimity Lodge, Edenton, begin on November 8, 1775, running through the Revolution, the lodge afterwards becoming dormant for two or three years, though it was revived in 1787. The Colonial and Revolutionary records of all of the other lodges of the period before the formation of the Grand Lodge in 1787 are lost or destroyed. These, so far as we know, were St. John's Lodge, now No. 1, of Wilmington; St. John's Lodge, now No. 4, of Kinston; Royal Edwin Lodge (name changed to Charity Lodge), now No. 5, of Windsor; Royal William Lodge (now extinct), No. 6 of Winton; and Phoenix Lodge (name formerly Union Lodge), now No. 8, of Fayetteville. In Warren County, a part of the old county of Bute, was a lodge called Dornoch Lodge, of whose origin we know nothing and whose records are lost. As it had a Scotch name it may have worked under authority of the Grand Lodge of Scotland. It sent representatives to the convention of 1787, which organized the Grand Lodge of North Carolina. This convention held that Dornoch Lodge was not legally constituted, but that its delegates were lawfully made Masons. Blandford Lodge, its neighbor, had, however, affiliated with it before that time. Dornoch Lodge passed out of existence, and most of its members went into Johnston-Caswell Lodge, No. 10, which was formerly Blandford Lodge. Another lodge known to have existed in North Carolina before the Revolution was called "The First Lodge in Pitt County." It was chartered by the Grand Lodge at Boston on December 30, 1767, and became extinct in a few years. As to the sources of the charters of the other lodges mentioned above, St. John's Lodge, in Wilmington, was chartered in 1755 by the Grand Lodge of England; Royal White Hart Lodge, in Halifax, was first chartered "by virtue of a letter of authority obtained from Cornelius Harnett, Grand Master of the Lodge

in Wilmington," in 1764, but it received a new charter from the Grand Lodge of England, in 1767. Blandford Lodge, or Blandford-Bute Lodge (for it was written both ways) seems to have been without a name of any kind at first, as its earliest record, April 29, 1766, speaks of it simply as "a lodge held at Buffaloe"—Buffaloe Creek being a stream which ran by the court-house of Bute County, about eight miles southwest of the present town of Warrenton. Blandford Lodge received its authority from the Grand Lodge of Virginia, as we find from a resolution passed at the close of the Revolution, May 18, 1782, referring to a "deputation" from the Grand Lodge of Virginia, December 23, 1766. As has already been stated it worked some months earlier than that date, viz., April 29, 1766—possibly without authority of any kind. St. John's Lodge, in New Bern, was chartered by Grand Master Montfort, in 1772, and now owns its original charter; St. John's Lodge, in Kinston, was probably chartered by Grand Master Montfort just before the Revolution, between 1772 and 1775, and the same is no doubt true of Royal Edwin Lodge in Windsor and Royal William Lodge in Winton, as the Grand Lodge of 1791, in settling precedence, gave these three lodges places between St. John's Lodge of New Bern, chartered in 1772 by Grand Master Montfort, and Unanimity Lodge, in Edenton, whose records show that it was chartered in 1775 by Grand Master Montfort; the next lodge on the list, Phoenix Lodge, of Fayetteville, stated in a protest as to precedence, which it sent to the Grand Lodge of 1855, that it had at first worked under a dispensation from the Grand Lodge of Scotland under the name of Union Lodge and had surrendered that dispensation to take a charter under the name of Phoenix Lodge, from the Grand Lodge of North Carolina after the organization of the latter body. The first lodge chartered by the Grand Lodge after its organization in 1787, was Old Cone Lodge,

No. 9, in Salisbury, the charter of which was issued on November 20, 1788. This lodge is now extinct. In 1779, during the War of the Revolution, while so many North Carolina troops were stationed in the vicinity of Philadelphia, the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania ("Ancients") chartered an Army Lodge, Charter or Warrant No. 20, among these North Carolinians, but the charter was later revoked and no record of the workings of that lodge has been preserved. Whether any other military lodges existed among the North Carolina troops we are unable to say. About eight miles from Wilmington is a place still known as Masonborough, which McRee, in his *Life and Correspondence of James Iredell*, (Vol. I., p. 393) tells us "was so called because a number of zealous Masons built originally there, so closely together as to create a straggling village or hamlet." The lodge at Masonborough, according to tradition was called Hanover Lodge. All of its records are lost, which is greatly to be regretted, as it is said to have numbered among its members such renowned patriots as Major-General Robert Howe, the highest ranking officer from North Carolina in the Continental service, and William Hooper, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, besides others of scarcely less note. Of the old lodge building at Masonborough, which was made of hewn pine logs and roofed with heavy cypress shingles, Chief of Police John J. Fowler, of Wilmington, under date of November 25, 1911, writes: "That this was the original Masonic Lodge there can be no doubt. Often, in my earliest days, I heard many of the oldest inhabitants so denominate it. For over fifty years this was my family's summer home. The building was destroyed by fire in 1896. After the fire it was discovered that beneath the floor of the lodge room was an empty brick vault in which the Masonic archives were probably preserved." Hanover Lodge passed out of existence before 1787, when the Grand Lodge was organized.

As we have spoken of Hooper, we may also mention the fact that Joseph Hewes and John Penn, the other two signers of the Declaration of Independence from North Carolina, were likewise Masons. Hewes is recorded as a "visiting brother" at a meeting of Unanimity Lodge, in Edenton, on St. John the Evangelist's Day, December 27, 1776, just after his return from the Continental Congress in Philadelphia. He was probably made a Mason in the latter city. As to Penn, the late Colonel William L. Taylor, of Granville County (a zealous Mason, as his father was before him) declared that his father and Penn had attended lodges together, as his father had often remarked, but he could not recall the name of Penn's own lodge.

Not only on the rolls of those lodges whose Revolutionary records are preserved, but also in the archives of those which were formed soon after the war, we can find the names of many noted patriots of North Carolina. There were Governors Alexander Martin, Nathaniel Alexander, and Montfort Stokes, officers of the Grand Lodge, all of whom had served in the war—Martin as a Colonel of Continentals, Alexander as a Surgeon, and Stokes as a seaman, the last named becoming a Major-General of United States Volunteers in the War of 1812-'15. Captain Benjamin Williams, of the Second North Carolina Continental Regiment, a member of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, at Halifax, also became Governor, as did others who will be mentioned later on. Among the "Heroes of King's Mountain" we find Colonel Joseph McDowell, of Rising Sun Lodge, No. 38, in Morganton; Lieutenant-Colonel Frederick Hambright, of Orange Lodge, No. 47, in Lincoln County; Captain William Lenoir, Worshipful Master of Liberty Lodge, No. 45, in Wilkes County, and Colonel John Sevier, Governor of Tennessee, of Tennessee Lodge, No. 41, in that State when the "Grand Lodge of North Carolina and Tennessee" was a single juris-

diction. Nor should we fail to mention such sterling patriots as Brigade-Chaplain Adam Boyd and Surgeon Solomon Halling, of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, in Wilmington (Halling formerly of St. John's Lodge, No. 3, in New Bern), both zealous clergymen in the Episcopal Church after the war. Another patriotic Mason of the same faith was the Reverend Charles Edward Taylor, a priest of the Church of England, who had come to America in 1771, who was Chairman of the Committee of Safety of Northampton County and Chaplain of the Provincial Congress at Hillsborough August, 1775. Taylor became Worshipful Master successively of Unanimity Lodge in Edenton, and Royal White Hart Lodge, in Halifax, in which latter place he died at the end of the year 1784. The Reverend Charles Cupples, who also held holy orders in the Church of England, was a member of Blandford Lodge, in Warren (formerly Bute) County, and had officiated as Chaplain of the Revolutionary Assemblies at Smithfield and at New Bern.

In addition to the officers already mentioned there were such worthy veterans of the North Carolina Continental Line as Major John Walker, Captain John Kingsbury, and Paymaster William Lord, of St. John's Lodge, No. 1, in Wilmington; Major John Nelson, Major Thomas Hogg, Captain Thomas Evans, Captain Gee Bradley, Captain Howell Tatum, Captain Joseph Montfort,* Captain Jesse Reid, Captain John Ingles, Lieutenant William Bush, Lieutenant Thomas Pasteur, Lieutenant John Tillery, Lieutenant James Tatum, Lieutenant Robert Hays, Ensign John Ford, Surgeon Joseph Blythe, and Matthew Cary Whitaker, a youthful private (later Worshipful Master), all of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, at Halifax; Brigadier-General Jethro

* Captain Joseph Montfort, of the Continental Line (not to be confused with Grand Master Joseph Montfort) was First Lieutenant, Third North Carolina Continentals, May, 1776; Captain-Lieutenant, February, 1777; Captain, January, 1779; taken prisoner at Charleston, May, 1780; served till close of war; Captain First United States Infantry, June, 1790; killed, April 17, 1792, by Indians, at Fort Jefferson, Ohio.

Sumner and Lieutenant Dixon Marshall, of Blandford Lodge, in Warren County; Colonel the Marquis de Britigney, Captain John Daves (wounded at Stony Point), Surgeon William McClure, and Surgeon and Paymaster Isaac Guion, of St. John's Lodge, No. 3, of New Bern; Lieutenant-Colonel Hardy Murfree, Worshipful Master of Royal William Lodge, No. 5, in Winton; Colonel Edward Buncombe (mortally wounded at Germantown), Colonel Gideon Lamb, Colonel John Patten, Colonel Nicholas Long, Lieutenant-Colonel Lott Brewster, Captain Clement Hall, Captain Cosmo de Medici, and Lieutenant Joseph Worth, of Unanimity Lodge, No. 7, in Edenton; Lieutenant Lehansius de Keyser, of Phoenix Lodge, No. 8, in Fayetteville; Deputy Adjutant General John Armstrong, who was wounded at Germantown, and Capt. John Stokes, whose right hand was cut off by a sabre stroke at Waxhaw (the latter's service in Virginia Continentals), of Old Cone Lodge, No. 9, in Salisbury; Captain John Macon, of Dornoch Lodge, in Warren County; Lieutenant Curtis Ivey, of St. John's Lodge, No. 13, Duplin County; Captain William Shepperd, Captain Absalom Tatum, and Captain William Lytle, all of Eagle Lodge, No. 19 (now No. 71) in Hillsborough; and Captain Simon Bright, Captain John Craddock, and Lieutenant Abner Lamb, whose lodges are not known to the present writer, though they are duly recorded as visiting brethren in some of the old minute books. Among the militia officers of the Revolution who were Masons may be mentioned Brigadier-General Isaac Gregory, recorded as present in the Grand Lodge and as a visiting brother in Unanimity Lodge, No. 7, Edenton, though his own Lodge is not mentioned; Brigadier-General William Bryan, of St. John's Lodge, No. 3, in New Bern; Brigadier-General John Simpson, of the "First Lodge in Pitt County," heretofore mentioned; and Brigadier-General Thomas Benbury, Worshipful Master of Unanimity

Lodge, No. 7, in Edenton. The list of militia officers further shows, among others, Colonel John Geddy, Colonel Guilford Dudley, Lieutenant-Colonel John Branch, and Major Egbert Haywood, of Royal White Hart Lodge, No. 2, in Halifax; Colonel Benjamin Seawell, of Blandford Lodge, in Bute County; Colonel Richard Cogdell and Colonel Joseph Leech, of St. John's Lodge, No. 3, in New Bern; Colonel Thomas Brown, of Phœnix Lodge, No. 8, in Fayetteville; Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Dobbins, of Old Cone Lodge, No. 9, in Salisbury; Colonel James Kenan, Worshipful Master of St. John's Lodge, No. 13, in Duplin County; Major John Hinton, Junior, of Democratic Lodge, No. 21, in Raleigh; Quartermaster-General Robert Burton, of Hiram Lodge, No. 24, in Williamsborough; Colonel Adlai Osborne, Worshipful Master of Mount Moriah Lodge, No. 27, in Iredell County; Captain William Houston, of Stokes Lodge, No. 32, in Cabarrus County; Colonel Martin Armstrong, of Unanimity Lodge, No. 34, in Surry County; Colonel Waightstill Avery, Worshipful Master of Rising Sun Lodge, No. 38, in Morganton, and Surgeon Robert Williams, of Federal Lodge, No. 42, in Pitt County. The gentleman last mentioned should not be confused with Robert Willams, of Surry County, for many years Grand Secretary of the Grand Lodge, and Grand Master from 1811 till 1814.

The above mentioned Lodges were not always the only ones to which the gentlemen spoken of belonged, for transfers by dimit were as common then as now, and the present writer knows of four lodges to which Governor Montfort Stokes and Lieutenant-Colonel Hardy Murfree belonged. In fact, dual membership seems to have been allowed then, for some persons are recorded on the rolls of two or more lodges at the same time.

The Grand Lodge of North Carolina was organized in 1787; and, for many years thereafter, no one was elected

Grand Master except from among those who had borne a prominent part in the War of the Revolution, in either civil or military capacities. The first Grand Master was Samuel Johnston, Governor of North Carolina, the first United States Senator to represent North Carolina, and a member of the Continental Congress, being elected President of the latter body, which high office he declined. The successor of Johnston, as Grand Master, was Richard Caswell, first Governor of North Carolina after independence was declared, a Major General of State Troops in the Army of the Revolution, and a member of the Continental Congress. After Caswell's death in office, Johnston again became Grand Master, served three terms, and was succeeded by William Richardson Davie, an active and enterprising cavalry officer in the Revolution, later Governor of North Carolina, "Father of the University," and Special Envoy to France when Napoleon was First Consul. After Davie retired from the office of Grand Master, the Grand Lodge elected as his successor Colonel William Polk, a battle-scarred survivor of the Revolution, who had received a shot through the face and tongue while serving under General Francis Nash when that officer fell mortally wounded at Germantown, in Pennsylvania; and he was also riding by the side of General William Lee Davidson when the latter was slain at Cowan's Ford, on the Catawba River, in North Carolina. Polk served as Grand Master for three terms, and next came successively Chief Justice John Louis Taylor and Associate Justice John Hall, of the North Carolina Supreme Court, both of whom grew to manhood after the Revolution—Taylor being a native of England. When Grand Master Hall's term had expired he was succeeded by Governor Benjamin Smith, the last Revolutionary patriot who ever held the post of Grand Master, and who went out of office in 1811.

Many of the above mentioned patriots were Masons before

the Revolution, some entered the Order during the war, and some of the younger ones came in after the return of peace. To the last named class belonged a tousel-haired country boy of thirteen who (together with his brother two years older) guided the command of Major Davie, afterwards Grand Master, when that officer attacked the British outpost at Hanging Rock in 1780. This lad, after reaching manhood, became an enthusiastic Mason, was elected Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Tennessee, eventually becoming President of the United States—Andrew Jackson, himself the hero of many fierce battles, who said late in life that Davie was the best soldier he had ever known and the one from whom he had learned some of his most valuable lessons in the art of war. Parton, the biographer of Jackson, declares: "So far as any man was General Jackson's model soldier, William Richardson Davie, of North Carolina, was the individual."

Micajah Bullock, of Granville County, was a veteran of the Revolution who belonged to Hiram Lodge, No. 24, in the old town of Williamsborough, not long after the war, though we are unable to ascertain when he first became a Mason. He had been Commissary in a regiment of North Carolina militia commanded by Colonel Ebenezer Folsom, whose very name was a terror to the Tories of the State. When Bullock came home he brought with him a battle-flag which had been carried by the North Carolina troops at Guilford Court House and in other actions. It was of a peculiar design, patterned very much like the present United States flag, but with the difference that it had red and blue stripes (instead of red and white), and thirteen blue stars on a white field instead of white stars on a blue field, as now. In 1854, Edward Bullock, a son of the aforementioned Micajah Bullock, placed it in the hall of Mount Energy Lodge, No. 140, at Tranquillity, in Granville County, for safekeep-

ing, and it remained there until 1905, when it was removed and deposited in Creedmoor Lodge, No. 499, in the same county of Granville. When the new Masonic Temple, built in Raleigh by the Grand Lodge, was completed, the descendants of Micajah Bullock formally presented the flag to the Grand Lodge, January 13, 1909, and it is still a treasured possession of that body. On account of its having been carried in the Battle of Guilford Court House, the North Carolina Society of the Sons of the Revolution had a reproduction of it made, which was presented by that organization to the Guilford Battle Ground Company on July 4, 1911. The original is the only flag of its kind known to exist, and there is no other Revolutionary battle-flag of any kind now in North Carolina.

Very few men of consequence among the Masons of North Carolina were Loyalists in the Revolution. Of these the most prominent were Provincial Grand Secretary William Brimage, and Chief Justice Martin Howard, the latter being Past Master of St. John's Lodge, now No. 3, of New Bern. Andrew Miller and Alexander Telfair, of Royal White Hart Lodge, now No. 2, in Halifax, were also Loyalists. The property of Miller and Telfair in North Carolina was confiscated, and Brimage and Howard also suffered heavy losses in consequence of their loyalty to King George. All four were highly esteemed in their respective communities before the politics of the day caused differences with their neighbors.

As has just been stated, there were very few Masons among the citizens of North Carolina who adhered to the Royal cause, but there were many members of the Order among the officers (some of the highest rank) in the British regiments which were sent over for the purpose of subjugating the Colonies. Though they came on a hostile errand, the American Masons never forgot that they were brethren, and always returned the paraphernalia of an Army Lodge when captured.

An English periodical, quoted in the interesting volume entitled *Washington and His Masonic Compeers*, by Sidney Hayden, records an incident of this character. Referring to one of the English Army Lodges, it says:

During the Revolution, its lodge-chest fell into the hands of the Americans. They reported the circumstances to General Washington, who embraced the opportunity of testifying his estimation of Masonry in the most marked and gratifying manner, by directing that a guard of honor, under a distinguished officer, should take charge of the chest, with many articles of value, and return them to the regiment. The surprise, the feeling of both officers and men may be imagined when they perceived the flag of truce that announced this elegant compliment from their noble opponent but still more noble brother. The guard of honor, with their flutes playing a sacred march, the chest containing the constitution and implements of the craft borne aloft like another Ark of the Covenant equally by Englishmen and Americans who were lately engaged in the strife of war, now marched through the enfiladed ranks of the gallant regiment that with presented arms and colours hailed the glorious act by cheers.

It must not for a moment be supposed that the list given in this sketch contains the names of all North Carolina Masons who bore a part in the Revolution. Scores of worthy names have doubtless been omitted, but those mentioned will serve to show the Order's patriotism in a most trying time. It would far exceed the limits of this paper to tell, even in part, of the prowess in battle displayed by these men; of their toilsome marches, with days and nights of exposure to the extremes of heat and cold; of the military prisons where hunger and pestilence made life a burden and death a welcome visitor; and of the final triumph of the cause for which so many sacrifices had been made. The bare mention of many of the names of the patriots enumerated above calls to mind some of the most brilliant achievements of the Revolution—of Howe hastening with his Continentals to the aid of a sister colony when Lord Dunmore invaded Virginia, and

afterwards rising to the highest rank under Washington; of Caswell and his compatriots winning the first great victory of the Revolution when a force of warlike Highlanders, outnumbering them nearly two to one, was overwhelmingly defeated at the battle of Moore's Creek bridge, with the loss of but one man on the American side; of Buncombe, Polk, and Armstrong watering the soil of Pennsylvania with their blood; of Murfree leading a column of Wayne's forces in the storming of Stony Point; of John Stokes losing his right hand while fighting Tarleton's dragoons; of stout old General Gregory vainly striving to rally the Americans at Camden and remaining on the field until his horse had been killed and its rider pierced with two bayonet wounds; of Sumner and his heroic brigade in the bloody charge at Eutaw Springs; of Benbury and his brigade of militia defending the Virginia-Carolina boundary; of Sevier, McDowell, Ham-bright, Lenoir, and other courageous frontiersmen subduing the hostile savages on the western border and annihilating the trained troops of Ferguson at King's Mountain; of Davie and his fleet troopers hanging on the rear of the army of Cornwallis as the British commander pursued his toilsome march through North Carolina; and of Colonel Lamb and Lieutenant Worth, who survived the dangers of the field only to fall victims to sickness brought on by their long service in the army. After being shot down and captured at the battle of Germantown, Colonel Buncombe, of Unanimity Lodge, in Edenton, a courageous soldier and hospitable gentleman, had closed his days at the end of seven months of suffering from an unhealed wound, while a paroled prisoner in Philadelphia; and a few years later, the equally brave statesman, Cornelius Harnett, Past Deputy Provincial Grand Master of America, had died a prisoner in Wilmington after being dragged from a sick bed to a stockade without a roof or covering of any kind. Among the Continental officers who

passed a weary existence in the military prisons of Charleston, after valiantly defending that city when beleagured by Sir Henry Clinton, were Colonel Patten, Majors Nelson and Hogg, Captains Montfort, Daves, Bradley, Evans, Reed, Ingles, Craddock, and Howell Tatum, Lieutenants James Tatum, Marshall, Pasteur, Hays, and Ford, Surgeons Blythe and McClure, and doubtless others.

As much has been said of the prowess in battle and fortitude in affliction displayed by the patriots of the Revolution, it would also be a grateful task to tell of the charitable workings of Masonry in that war—deeds of kindness unknown to the world at large—but our limits in this brief paper preclude a recital, even in part, of the numerous cases of relief afforded, though the old minute books abound with the mention of such instances. In an oration at New Bern on the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, 1789, Doctor Solomon Halling, who had been an efficient surgeon in the Revolution and afterwards entered the sacred ministry, said: “Let us reflect, while we enjoy the bounties of indulgent heaven, ‘on how many bare, unsheltered heads the rude storms of howling winter beat pitiless.’ What numbers solicit charity? The poor, the aged parents of a numerous offspring, stretch out their palsied hands for relief. The helpless widow, with her infant train, requests some small pittance. The war-worn soldier, whose mangled form bears honorable scars, testimonials of his patriotism and good will to his fellow-men, expects some recompence from our beneficence—the sick, the maimed and the blind desire to partake of our bounty.”

Thus ends the imperfect narrative wherein I have endeavored to tell of the Masonic Revolutionary Patriots of North Carolina. In life they were the brave defenders of North Carolina and her sister States; and their passing away dissolved the “goodliest fellowship of famous knights whereof this world holds record.”

DIARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

COPIED WITH LITERAL EXACTNESS FROM THE ORIGINAL, VOL. XXXIV—
PART II, Pages 2390-7.

[Losing imprint in MSS. Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.]

1791. SATURDAY, APRIL 16TH.

* * * At this place (*i. e.* Hallifax) I arrived about six o'clock, after crossing the Roanoke; on the South bank of which it stands.

This River is crossed in flat Boats which take in a Carriage & four horses at once.—At this time, being low, the water was not rapid but at times it must be much so, as it frequently overflows its banks which appear to be at least 25 ft. perpendicular height.

The lands upon the River appear rich, & the low grounds of considerable width—but those which lay between the different Rivers—namely Appamattox, Nottaway, Meherrin and Roanoke are all alike flat, poor & covered principally with pine timber.

It has already been observed that before the Rain fell, I was travelling in a continued cloud of dust—but after it had rained some time, the Scene was reversed, and my passage was through water; so level are the Roads.

From Petersburg to Hallifax (in sight of the Road) are but few good Houses, with small appearance of wealth.—The lands are cultivated in Tobacco—Corn,—Wheat & Oats, but Tobacco and the raising of Porke for market, seems to be the principal dependence of the Inhabitants; especially towards the Roanoke.—Cotton & Flax are also raised but not extensively.

Hallifax is the first town I came to after passing the line between the two States, and is about 20 miles from it.—To this place vessels by the aid of Oars and Setting poles are

brought for the produce which comes to this place, and others along the River; and may be carried 8 or 10 miles higher to the falls which are neither great nor of much extent;—above these (which are called the great falls) there are others; but none but what may with a little improvement be passed. This town stands upon high ground; and it is the reason given for not placing it at the head of the navigation there being none but low ground between it and the falls—It seems to be in a decline & does not it is said contain a thousand Souls.

SUNDAY, 17TH.

Col^o. Ashe¹⁰⁵ the Representative of the district in which this town stands, and several other Gentlemen called upon, and invited me to partake of a dinner which the Inhabitants were desirous of seeing me at & excepting it dined with them accordingly.

MONDAY, 18TH.

Set out by six o'clock—dined at a small house kept by one Slaughter, 22 miles from Hallifax and lodged at Tarborough 14 miles further.

This place is less than Hallifax, but more lively and thriving;—it is situated on Tar River which goes into Pamlico Sound and is crossed at the Town by means of a bridge a great height from the water, and notwithstanding the freshes rise sometimes nearly to the arch.—Corn, Porke, and some Tar are the exports from it.—We were recd. at this place by as good a salute as could be given by one piece of artillery.

TUESDAY, 19TH.

At 6 O'clock I left Tarborough accompanied by some of the most respectable people of the place for a few miles—

¹⁰⁵ John B. Ashe, a soldier of the Revolution under Gen. Greene, a member of the Continental Congress in 1787, a representative in the Federal Congress from 1790 to 1793, and afterwards elected governor of the State. He died before entering upon the duties of the office.

dined at a trifling place called Greenville 25 miles distant—and lodged at one Allan's 14 miles further a very indifferent house without stabling which for the first time since I commenced my Journey were obliged to stand without a cover.

Greenville is on Tar River and the exports the same as from Tarborough with a greater proportion of Tar—for the lower down the greater number of Tar makers are there—This article is contrary to all ideas one would entertain on the subject, rolled as Tobacco by an axis which goes through both heads—one horse draws two barrels in this manner.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH.

Left Allan's before breakfast, & under a misapprehension went to a Col^d. Allan's, supposing it to be public house; where we were very kindly & well entertained without knowing it was at his expence, until it was too late to rectify the mistake.—After breakfasting, & feeding our horses here, we proceeded on & crossing the River Nuse 11 miles further, arrived in Newbern to dinner.

At this ferry which is 10 miles from Newbern, we were met by a small party of Horse; the district Judge (Mr. Sitgreave)¹⁰⁶ and many of the principal Inhabitants of Newbern, who conducted us into town to exceeding good lodgings—It ought to have been mentioned that another small party of horse under one Simpson met us at Greenville, and in spite of every endeavor which could comport with decent civility, to excuse myself from it, they would attend me to Newbern.—Col^d. Allan did the same.

This town is situated at the confluence of the Rivers Nuse & Trent, and though low is pleasant. Vessels drawing more than 9 feet water cannot get up loaded.—It stands on a good

¹⁰⁶ John Sitgreaves was resident of Newbern, and had been an officer in the war for Independence. He was a member of the Continental Congress in 1784, of his State Legislature in 1787, and was made United State District Judge.

deal of ground, but the buildings are sparse and altogether of Wood;—some of which are large & look well—The number of Souls are about 2000.—Its exports consist of Corn, Tobacco, Pork,—but principally of Naval Stores & lumber.

THURSDAY, 21ST.

Dined with the Citizens at a public dinner given by them; and went to a dancing assembly in the evening—both of which was at what they call the Pallace—formerly the Government House & a good brick building but now hastening to Ruins.¹⁰⁷—The Company at both was numerouse at the latter there were abt. 70 ladies.

This town by Water is about 70 miles from the Sea—but in a direct line to the entrance of the River not over 35—and to the nearest Seaboard not more than 20, or 25.—Upon the River Nuse, & 80 miles above Newbern, the Convention of the State that adopted the federal Constitution made choice of a spot, or rather district within which to fix their Seat of Government; but it being lower than the back Members (of the Assembly) who hitherto have been most numerous inclined to have it they have found means to obstruct the measure—but since the Cession of their Western territory it is supposed that the matter will be revived to good effect.

FRIDAY, 22D.

Under an Escort of horse, and many of the principal Gentlemen of Newbern I recommenced my journey—dined at a place called Trenton which is the head of the boat navigation

¹⁰⁷ This building was erected for Governor Tryon in 1769; and his demand upon the Assembly for twenty-five thousand dollars for the purpose of building a palace "suitable for the residence of the royal governor," was one of the causes of strong popular indignation against the governor. His wife and sister, both beautiful and accomplished women, used every blandishment to induce compliance on the part of the representatives of the people. Mrs. Tryon gave them princely dinners and balls. Human nature then, as now, was weak, and Tryon not only secured the first appropriation of \$25,000, but a further sum of \$50,000.

A drawing of the building, with a full account of it, may be found in Lossing's Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, II, 364, second edition.

of the River Trent, wh. is crossed at this place on a bridge—and lodged at one Shrine's 10 m. farther—both indifferent Houses.

SATURDAY, 23D.

Breakfasted at one Everets 12 miles bated at a Mr. Foy's 12 miles farther and lodged at one Sage's 20 miles bey^d. it—all indifferent Houses.

SUNDAY, 24TH.

Bréakfasted at an indifferent House about 13 miles from Sage's—and three miles further met a party of Light Horse from Wilmington; and after these a Comm^{ee}. & other Gentlemen of the Town; who came out to escort me into it, and at which I arrived under a federal salute at very good lodgings prepared for me, about two o'clock—at these I dined with the Commee. whose company I asked.

The whole Road from Newbern to Wilmington (except in a few places of small extent) passes through the most barren country I ever beheld; especially in the parts nearest the latter; which is no other than a bed of white sand.—In places, however, before we came to these, if the ideas of poverty could be separated from the Sand, the appearances of it are agreeable, resembling a lawn well covered with evergreens, and a good verdure below from a broom or course grass which having sprung since the burning of the Woods had a neat and handsome look especially as there were parts entirely open—and others with ponds of water, which contributed not a little to the beauty of the scene.

Wilmington is situated on the Cape Fear River, about 30 miles *by water* from its mouth, but much less by land—It has some good houses pretty compactly built.—The whole und^r. a hill; which is formed entirely of sand.—The number of Souls in it amount by the enumeration to about 1000, but

it is agreed on all hands that the Census in this State has been very inaccurately & Shamefully taken by the Marshall's deputies; who, instead of going to Peoples houses, & there, on the spot, ascertaining the Nos.; have advertised a meeting of them at certain places, by which means those who did not attend (and it seems many purposely avoided doing it, some from an apprehension of its being introductory of a tax, & others from religious scruples) have gone with their families, unnumbered—In other instances, it is said these deputies have taken their information from the Captains of Militia Companies; not only as to the men on their Muster Rolls, but of the Souls, in their respective families; which at best, must in a variety of cases, be mere conjecture whilst all those who are not on their lists—Widows and their families &c^a. pass unnoticed.

Wilmington, unfortunately for it, has a Mud bank,—miles below, over which not more than 10 feet water can be brought at common tides, yet it is said vessels of 250 Tons have come up.—The q^{ty}. of Shipping, which load here annually, amounts to about 1200 Tons.—The exports consist chiefly of Naval Stores and lumber.—Some Tobacco, Corn, Rice, & flax seed with Porke.—It is at the head of the tide navigation, but inland navigation may be extended 115 miles farther to and above Fayetteville which is from Wilmington 90 miles by land, & 115 by Water as above.—Fayetteville is a thriving place containing near ——— Souls—6000 Hhds. of Tobacco, & 3000 Hhds. of Flax Seed have been reed. at it in the course of the year.

MONDAY, 25TH.

Dined with the Citizens of the place at a public dinner given by them—Went to a Ball in the evening at which there were 62 ladies—illuminations, Bonfires, &c.

TUESDAY, 26TH.

Having sent my Carriage across the day before, I left Wilmington about 6 o'clock, accompanied by most of the Gentlemen of the Town, and breakfasting at Mr. Ben. Smith's lodged at one Russ' 25 miles from Wilmington.—An indifferent House.

WEDNESDAY, 27TH.

Breakfasted at Will^m. Gause's a little out of the direct Road 14 miles—crossed the boundary line between No. & South Carolina abt. half after 12 o'clock which is 10 miles from Gause's—* * *

THE DIARY OF GEORGE WASHINGTON,* FROM 1789 TO 1791; EMBRACING THE OPENING OF THE FIRST CONGRESS, AND HIS TOURS THROUGH NEW ENGLAND, LONG ISLAND, AND THE SOUTHERN STATES. TOGETHER WITH HIS JOURNAL OF A TOUR TO THE OHIO, IN 1753. EDITED BY BENSON J. LOSSING, RICHMOND, 1861. PRESS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(Southern Tour.)

WEDNESDAY, MAY 25, 1791.

Set out at 4 o'clock for Camden—(the foundered horse being led slowly on)—breakfasted at an indifferent house 22 miles from the town, (the first we came to) and reached Camden about two o'clock, 14 miles further, when an address was read. & answered.—Dined (late) with a number of Gentlemen and Ladies at a public dinner.—The Road from Columbia to Camden, excepting a mile or two at each place, goes over the most miserable pine barren I ever saw, being quite a white sand, & very hilly.—On the Wateree within a mile & half of which the town stands the lands are very good,—they Culture Corn, Tobacco & Indigo.—Vessels carrying 50 or 60 Hhds. of Tobo. come up to the Ferry at this place at which there is a Tobacco Wharehouse.

*This part of the Diary relating to Washington's tour through North Carolina, was copied from a volume in the Library of Johns Hopkins University. THE EDITOR.

THURSDAY, 26TH.

After viewing the british works about Camden I set out for Charlotte—on my way—two miles from Town—I examined the ground on wh. Genl. Green & Lord Rawdon had their action.¹—The ground had but just been taken by the former—was well chosen—but he not well established in it before he was attacked; which by capturing a Videt was, in some measure by surprise—Six miles further on I came to the ground where Genl. Gates & Lord Cornwallis had their Engagement wh. terminated so unfavourably for the former.²—As this was a night meeting of both Armies on their march, & altogether unexpected each formed on the ground they met without any advantage in it on either side it being level & open.—Had Genl. Gates been $\frac{1}{2}$ a mile further advanced, an impenetrable Swamp would have prevented the attack which was made on him by the British Army, and afforded him time to have formed his own plans; but having no information of Lord Cornwallis's designs, and perhaps not being apprised of this advantage it was not seized by him.

Camden is a small place with appearances of some new buildings.—It was much injured by the British whilst in their possession.³

After halting at one Sutton's 14 m. from Camden I lodged at James Ingrams 12 miles farther.

FRIDAY, 27TH.

Left Ingrams about 4 o'clock, and breakfasting at one Barr's 18 miles distant lodged at Majr. Crawford's 8 miles farther—About 2 miles from this place I came to the Corner where the No. Carolina line comes to the Rd.—from whence

¹On Hobkirk's Hill, April 25, 1781.

²On the north side of Sanders's Creek, August 16, 1780. The two generals were approaching each other in the night, along a road filled with deep sand; and neither of them had any knowledge of the fact, until their advanced guards came in contact. The battle occurred early in the morning.

³Lord Rawdon, the British commander there, alarmed for the safety of his forts in the lower country, set fire to Camden on the 10th of May, 1781, and retreated down the Santee.

the Road is the boundary for 12 miles more.—At Majr. Crawfords I was met by some of the chiefs of the Catawba nation who seemed to be under apprehension that some attempts were making, or would be made to deprive them of the 40,000 Acres wch. was secured to them by Treaty and wch. is bounded by this Road.¹

SATURDAY, 28TH.

Sett off from Crawfords by 4 o'clock and breakfasting at one Harrison's 18 miles from it got into Charlotte 13 miles further, before 3 o'clock,—dined with Genl. Polk and a small party invited by him, at a Table prepared for the purpose.²

It was not, until I had got near Barrs that I had quit the Piney & Sandy lands—nor until I had got to Crawfords before the lands took quite a different complexion—here they began to assume a very rich look.

Charlotte is a trifling place, though the Court of Mecklenburg is held in it—There is a School (called a College) in it at which, at times there has been 50 or 60 boys.³

SUNDAY, 29TH.

Left Charlotte about 7 o'clock, dined at Colo. Smiths 15 miles off, and lodged at Majr. Fifers 7 miles farther.

¹This is yet a reservation for the Catawba Indians, near the southeast corner of Yorkville district in South Carolina. It was originally larger than now. They were once a powerful tribe, but are dwindled to the most insignificant remnant. Their chief village was on the Catawba river, about twenty-five miles from Yorkville. The following eloquent petition of Peter Harris, a Catawba warrior during the Revolution, is preserved among the Colonial records at Columbia, South Carolina. It is dated, 1822:

"I am one of the lingering survivors of an almost extinguished race. Our graves will soon be our only habitations. I am one of the few stalks that still remain in the field where the tempest of the Revolution has passed. I fought against the British for your sake. The British have disappeared, and you are free; yet from me have the British took nothing; nor have I gained anything by their defeat. I pursued the deer for subsistence; the deer are disappearing, and I must starve. God ordained me for the forest, and my ambition is the shade. But the strength of my arm decays, and my feet fail me in the chase. The hand which fought for your liberties is now open for your relief. In my youth I bled in battle, that you might be independent; let not my heart in my old age bleed for the want of your commiseration."

²General Thomas Polk, who was Colonel of the militia of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, at the opening of the war of Independence. It was in Charlotte, and partially under the influence and through the exertions of General Polk, that a convention of delegates, selected by the people of Mecklenburg County, passed resolutions at the close of May, 1775, which virtually declared the people represented free and independent of the British crown.

³This was called, previous to the Revolution, Queen's Museum or College. There the republicans of that section of North Carolina met to discuss the exciting questions of the day. It was the Faneuil Hall of Western Carolina.

MONDAY, 30TH.

At 4 o'clock I was out from Majr. Fifers;¹ and in about 10 miles at the line which divides Mecklenburgh from Rowan Counties; I met a party of horse belonging to the latter, who came from Salisbury to escort me on—(It ought to have been mentioned also that upon my entering the State of No. Carolina I was met by a Party of the Mecklenburgh horse—but these being near their homes I dismissed them)—I was also met 5 miles from Salisbury by the Mayor of, the Corporation, Judge Mc.Koy, & many others;—Mr. Steel, Representative for the district,² was so polite as to come all the way to Charlotte to meet me.—We arrived at Salisbury about 8 o'clock, to breakfast,—20 miles from Captn. Fifers.—The lands between Charlotte & Salisbury are very fine, of a reddish cast and well timbered, with but very little underwood—Between these two places are the first meadows I have seen on the Road since I left Virga. & here also we appear to be getting into a Wheat Country.

This day I foundered another of my horses.

Dined at a public dinner givn. by the Citizens of Salisbury; & in the afternoon drank Tea at the same place with about 20 ladies, who had been assembled for the occasion.

Salisbury is but a small place altho' it is the County town, and the district Court is held in it;—nor does it appear to be much on the increase,—there is about three hundred souls in it and tradesmen of different kinds.

¹ Son of John Phifer, one of the leading patriots of Mecklenburg County, who died early in the Revolution. His remains were buried at the Red Hills, three miles west of Concord, in Cabarrus County, North Carolina. I saw over his grave in 1848, a rough mutilated memorial slab, upon which, tradition averred, a fire was built by British soldiers, when on their march from Charlotte to Salisbury, in contempt for the patriot's memory. He was one of the signers of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence.

² General John Steele, who was a representative in Congress for four years. He was a native of Salisbury, and first appeared in public life as a member of the North Carolina House of Commons, in 1787. He was appointed by President Washington, controller of the United States Treasury, and was continued in office by President Adams. He died in 1815.

TUESDAY, 31ST.

Left Salisbury about 4 o'clock; at 5 miles crossed the Yadkin,¹ the principal stream of the Pedee, and breakfasted on the No. Bank (while my Carriages & horses were crossing) at a Mr. Youngs' fed my horses 10 miles farther, at one Reeds—and about 3 o'clock (after another halt) arrived at Salem, one of the Moravian towns 20 miles farther—In all 35 from Salisbury.

The Road between Salisbury & Salem passes over very little good land, and much that is different; being a good deal mixed with Pine, but not sand.

Salem is a small but neat village; & like all the rest of the Moravian settlements, is governed by an excellent police—having within itself all kinds of artizans—The number of Souls does not exceed 200.²

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 1ST.

Having received information that Governor Martin was on his way to meet me; and would be at Salem this evening, I resolved to await his arrival at this place instead of halting a day at Guilford as I had intended;

Spent the forenoon in visiting the Shops of the different Tradesmen—The houses of accommodation for the single men & Sisters of the Fraternity—& their place of worship.—

¹At the Trading Ford, probably, where Greene with Morgan and his light troops crossed, with Cornwallis in pursuit. There is now a great bridge over the Yadkin, on the Salisbury road, about a mile and a half above the Trading Ford.

²There is still a very flourishing settlement of Moravians, or United Brethren, at Salem, where the church was first planted in 1766. The log-house in which the first Moravian settlers were at first lodged, was yet standing in 1857.

Washington's visit as recorded in his Diary, is duly noted in the records of the Moravian Society at Salem, and copies of the addresses delivered on that occasion are preserved.

The following is the address of the Moravians to the President:—

To the President of the United States.

THE HUMBLE ADDRESS OF THE UNITED BRETHREN IN WACHOVIA. *

Happy in sharing the Honour of a Visit from the Illustrious President of the Union to the Southern States, the United Brethren in Wachovia humbly beg Leave, upon this joyfull Occasion to express their highest Esteem Duty and Affection for the great Patriot of this Country.

Deeply impressed as we are with Gratitude to the great Author of our Being for his unbounded Mercies, we can not but particularly acknowledge his gracious Providence

Invited six of their principal people to dine with me—and in the evening went to hear them sing,—perform on a variety of instruments Church music.

In the Afternoon Governor Martin as was expected (with his Secretary) arrived.¹

over the temporal and political Prosperity of the Country, in the Peace whereof we do find Peace, and wherein none can take a warmer Interest than ourselves, in particular when we consider that the same Lord who preserved Your precious Person in so many imminent Dangers, has made You in a conspicuous Manner an Instrument in His Hands to forward that happy Constitution,—together with those Improvements, whereby our United States begin to flourish, over which You preside with the Applause of a thankfull Nation.

Whenever therefore we solicit the Protection of the Father of all Mercies over this favoured Country, we can not but fervently implore His Kindness for Your Preservation which is so intimately connected therewith.

May this gracious Lord vouchsafe to prolong Your valuable Life as a further Blessing and an Ornament of the Constitution, that by Your worthy Example the Regard for Religion be encreased, and the Improvements of Civil Society encouraged.

The Settlements of the United Brethren though small, will always make it their Study to contribute as much as in them layeth, to the Peace and Improvement of the United States and all the particular Parts they live in, joining their ardent prayers to the best Wishes of this whole Continent, that Your Personal as well as Domestic Happiness may abound, and a Series of Success may crown Your Labours, for the Prosperity of our Times, and an Example to future Ages, untill the glorious Reward of a faithfull Servant shall be Your Portion.

signed in Behalf of the United Brethren in Wachovia by
FREDERICK WILLIAM MARSHALL,
JOHN DANIEL KOEHLER,
CHRISTIAN LEWIS BENZIEN.

Salem the first of June 1791.

To the United Brethren of Wachovia,
GENTLEMEN,

I am greatly indebted to your respectful and affectionate expressions of personal regard, and I am not less obliged by the patriotic sentiments contained in your address.

From a Society, whose governing principles are industry and the love of order, much may be expected towards the improvement and prosperity of the country, in which their Settlements are formed—and experience authorises the belief that much will be obtained.

Thanking you with grateful sincerity for your prayers in my behalf, I desire to assure you of my best wishes for your social and individual happiness.

GO WASHINGTON.

¹ This entry closes this volume of the Diary. The President reached Mount Vernon on the 12th of June, having made a most satisfactory journey of more than seventeen hundred miles, from his seat on the Potomac, in sixty-six days, with the same team of horses. "My return to this place is sooner than I expected," he wrote to Hamilton, "owing to the uninterruptedness of my journey by sickness, from bad weather, or accidents of any kind whatsoever," for which he had made an allowance of eight days.

A PARTISAN LEADER IN 1776

BY REBECCA CAMERON.

Colonel William Shepperd, of Long Meadows, near Hillsboro, North Carolina, was an officer of the North Carolina line during the War of the Revolution of 1776, and a terror to the Tories in the middle part of the State.

Many are the stories of his prowess still kept alive in the farm houses of Orange, those treasuries of local tradition, but this one was told me by his grand-nephew, Dr. William Strudwick, and therefore may be received as authentic.

No man is search of a hero would have given Colonel Shepperd a second thought. He was a very short, sparebuilt man, of plain, insignificant appearance, blind in one eye, with a thin, high, piping voice, long, lank, black hair that he generally kept out of his way by tying a red bandanna handkerchief around his head.

A democrat of intensest degree, he affected the roughest costume; and in an age when gentlemen wore nothing but "purple and fine linen" he clothed himself in homespun woven on his own plantation and shoes made by his own negroes.

Yet that spare frame was knit together with joints and muscles like bands of fine tempered steel; and from that solitary dark eye looked forth a spirit so intrepid that no danger could appal it; no adverse fortune dismay or subdue; and that thin, high voice had the irresistible ringing command of a born master of men in its piping tones. He had organized a partisan force of Minute Men some four or five hundred strong; men who dwelt peaceably enough at home, until a runner notified them that Shepperd had work for them to do, when at the appointed place of *rendezvous* would gather a

band of rough and resolute men, ready to execute any plan, however daring and hazardous, of their idolized chief.

An English officer, Colonel Patton, was then raiding through Orange and the adjoining counties, carrying terror and devastation with him. Born a gentleman, educated as a soldier, and a man of superb physical development, he mocked at fear; and, utterly devoid of conscience, staunch in his loyalty to the King, and with an utter scorn of the American rebels, he showed no quarter; rapine, violence, and murder marked every step of his onward progress and none were able to stay his course.

Colonel Shepperd and his troopers, returning home after the disastrous battle of Briar Creek (March 3, 1779), found Patton devastating the country, and riding roughshod over the people. Plan after plan to capture him was devised, but Patton, who was as capable and wary as a soldier as he was brutal as a man, slipped through Shepperd's toils again and again, and laughed him to scorn. Finally Colonel Shepperd was ordered on some expedition that withdrew his forces from the neighborhood, and Patton getting wind of it, came down into the lion's den, quartered at Long Meadows for the night and a day, and, although treating Mrs. Shepperd with extreme courtesy (for while absolutely without humanity to women as women, he never failed to treat a lady of his own social rank with the most finished courtesy of manner) he appropriated the Colonel's stock, provender and plantation supplies like the freebooter that he was.

Colonel Shepperd, returning one night to visit his wife, to whom he was passionately devoted, discovered that Patton was in the neighborhood, and laid a plan to capture him. Summoning his immediate bodyguard of trusty, picked men, he stationed thirteen of them in an old deserted schoolhouse to lie in wait while he and the others reconnoitred. Returning to the schoolhouse what was his anger and astonishment

to find it empty and a card tacked up by Colonel Patton to tell the reason why.

Patton had also been out scouting, and came to the school-house, where a pack of cards and jug of whiskey were helping the ambuscaders to forget their duty.

All the muskets were piled near the door, and their owners, sitting crosslegged on the floor, were deep in the mysteries of a game, while the sentry lifted the jug to his head a time or so too often.

Stepping lightly to the open door, Colonel Patton seized one of their own muskets and leveling it at the absorbed group of card players cried out: "Surrender to Colonel Patton of His Majesty's forces, or I will shoot every man of you."

Half drunk, wholly surprised, and with the instinctive obedience of the common soldier to the born commander, they at once surrendered.

Still holding his musket at point blank range, Patton made one of the men advance and hand him the muskets, one by one, butts foremost, and then he was required to tie his comrades, each man with his own halter-rein; the horses in turn were secured to their masters, and thus yoked together man and beast, the crestfallen thirteen men marched ahead of their solitary captor to the British camp.

A fiery, passionate man, Shepperd's rage and mortification knew no bounds. His desire to capture Patton became a perfect frenzy and he bent every energy to its accomplishment. If a man *will*, he generally *can*, and Shepperd's hour came at last.

Not very long after the disgraceful capture of Shepperd's men there was to be a sale in the neighborhood. People had submitted if they were not subdued, and Patton rode or walked through the land a veritable Lord Paramount, and none dared resist or gainsay. He was going to attend the

sale, not as a bidder nor a buyer, but to take, *vi et armis*, whatever he saw fit.

Colonel Shepperd had either heard or suspected that Patton would be at the sale, so he stationed some of his men above and below the point of attack he had selected, and early on the morning of the day, dressed like a common farmer as he always was, and with a loose halter over his arm, he mounted his horse and took a bridle path through the woods that would bring him out on the road that Patton must travel to reach the sale. A house occupied by a farmer named Smith was on the left of the road above Shepperd's lower ambushade. After a while, down the road came Patton, riding a superb black mare; dressed in full British uniform and presenting a very brilliant and splendid appearance. He was tall, large, and superbly handsome; and in courage and high soldierly qualities fully Shepperd's equal.

As he rode gallantly on in all the pride of conscious beauty and power, out of a bridle-path to his right rode a small, badly dressed, ill favored man, who, saluting him awkwardly as he rode alongside, said: "I bought some colts not long ago from a man named Smith who lives somewhere hereabouts, and they have strayed away, and I reckon they have gone back to their old home, so I am looking for them. Can you tell me where Smith lives?"

"Oh, yes," said Patton, carelessly raising his right arm and pointing across the road, "he lives across the road in that house yonder."

He had turned his face in the direction indicated as he spoke, and in that instant a pair of wiry arms were clasped 'round him like a vise, and a small piping voice cried out: "Colonel Patton, you are my prisoner, sir."

Patton was a stammerer in his speech, and he stuttered out angrily: "It's a damned lie sir; I am no man's prisoner," struggling desperately to release himself as he spoke. He

had not reckoned on the immense strength hidden away in the small body of his captor, and his efforts were unavailing. Drawing his sword with his left hand he essayed to cut himself loose, but Shepperd was so small and so close to him that the slashes did not touch him.

Patton shortened his sword and stabbed mercilessly at the arm around him until it was gashed and stabbed in a dozen places, but the resolute little Colonel never loosened his hold nor flinched.

This, though long in the telling, occupied only a moment of time, and the horses, feeling loose bridles on their necks, broke and ran, as country horses generally do, and landed both riders in the road.

Patton, being the heavier, fell underneath, and when Shepperd's troopers, attracted by the riderless horses passing them, for everybody knew Patton's black mare, a superb English thoroughbred, came hurrying up, they found the stubborn little Colonel holding his prostrate foe in an embrace that seemed like riveted bands of steel.

The arrival of reinforcements made the contest hopeless for Patton, who had been badly hurt by his heavy fall, and he said: "I surrender, and claim the usages of war as an officer and a gentleman." Shepperd at once unloosed his clasp, and when Patton was helped to his feet he held out his sword, saying: "To whom do I surrender?" "To Colonel William Shepherd, sir," answered the Colonel, with a ring of triumph in his voice.

"Colonel Shepperd!" exclaimed Patton, in the utmost surprise and chagrin, as he looked at the small, insignificant speaker.

"Yes, sir; Colonel William Shepperd, of the North Carolina line, who has promised to hang Colonel Patton whenever he caught him," said Shepperd, drawing from his pocket a pair of handcuffs that he had carried for months for the

purpose of braceleting Patton if ever captured. With a spring like a tiger Patton shook himself free from the troopers who surrounded him, and catching up the limb of a fallen tree, he put his back against a large oak and exclaimed: "Colonel Shepperd, you shall never subject me to the disgrace of handcuffs; I will die first. I claim the usages of war, to be treated like an officer and a gentleman. I will never submit to be handcuffed."

"You have forfeited all the consideration due a soldier, sir. You are a robber and a murderer," said Shepperd bitterly.

"I wear the uniform of a British officer, sir, and I demand to be treated like an officer of His Majesty's army. I give you my word of honor to make no effort to escape. I will go alone with you or with any one else to headquarters. I will consider myself your prisoner and deport myself accordingly, without constraint, but I will not submit to personal indignity and no man shall handcuff me alive."

Shepperd was no fool. He saw plainly enough that Patton would make a desperate resistance in which he would have to be killed outright or else so badly hurt that traveling would be impossible, so he abandoned the idea of handcuffs and accepting Patton's parole both men mounted their horses that had been caught and brought back to them by Shepperd's men, and set off alone for Gates' headquarters, near Asheville, riding, eating, and sleeping together like brothers until they reached the American camp, where Shepperd turned his prisoner over to the authorities, and he was tried by drumhead court-martial, condemned and executed.

Colonel Shepperd died in Hillsboro in a house now used as a part of Mr. Nathan Brown's store on Churton street.

ROWAN COUNTY WILLS

CONTRIBUTED BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Samuel Hall (Book E, page 127), February 20, 1793.
Wife: Elizabeth. Sons: George and Abraham. Ex.: Sons, George and Abraham. Test: Isaac Eaton, Jese(?) Willcockson, and John Alexander.

Samuel Luckie (Book E, page 132), May 31, 1797.
Wife: Anne. Sons: Samuel (the youngest) and Robert. Granddaughter: Peggy. Ex.: Sons, Samuel and Robert. Test: John Hall, William Luckie, Jr., and Robert Luckie.

Thomas Lyall (Book E, page 133), February 19, 1781.
Wife: Mary. "Children." Daughter: Margaret (land on south fork of Yadkin River) and Elizabeth (the home place). Ex.: Wife, Mary, Samuel Young and Thomas McKay. A codicil speaks of step-daughter Susannah Cowan. Test.: Jas. Brandon, Jas. Graham, and William Mackey.

John Lowasser (Book E, page 135), April 24, 1794.
Wife: Elizabeth. Children. Daughter: Catharine. Ex.: Wife, Elizabeth and friend, Jacob Fisher. Test.: Philip Lamly, Conrad Beicher, and Conrad Franck.

Samuel Luckey (Book E, page 136), January 4, 1801.
Son: John (land west of Hunting Creek). Daughters: Eleanor McQuire, Ann Luckey, and Mary Luckey. Granddaughter: Anne Ronshaw. Ex.: Son, Samuel and son-in-law, James McGuire. Test.: John Evans, Thomas Beavoe(?), and Samuel McNeely.

Jacob Link (Book E, page 137), December 18, 1800.
Wife: Nancy. Children. Ex.: Thomas Pinkston and William Link. Test: George Robison, Christopher Figenbinder, and James Ghon.

Elijah Lyon (Book E, page 138), December 7, 1800.

Wife: Nancy. Sons: Nathan, Richard, and Elijah. Daughters: Rebecca Dickey, Esther Roas Bosidos, Mary, Nooly Bosidos, and Elizabeth. (There may be other children.) Ex.: Wife, Mary, and son Richard. Test: John Evan, Jr., and David Maxwell.

Daniel Lewis (Book E, page 141), March 19, 1801. Wife: Hannah (the homeplace). Daughters: Sarah Hendricks Cunningham and Hannah. Son: Daniel (to get homeplace after his mother's death). Ex.: Wife, Hannah, and son, Daniel. Test: Elijah Renshaw, Jr., and John Fox.

Peter Lewis, yeoman (Book E, page 143), September 20, 1803. Daughters: Jane, Wallis, and Elleanor Wally. Sons: James, Simon, and Peter. Others mentioned: Charles Smith and William Bird. Ex.: Son, Peter. Test: John Culberston and Elijah Martin.

John Luckbee (Book E, page 142), no date. Wife: Barbara. Son: George. Children. Others mentioned: Daniel Lents. Ex.: John Cope and David Luckbee. Test: John Philip.

Henry Leonard (Book E, page 145), October 12, 1803. Wife: Elizabeth. Sons: Charles and Jacob. "Daughters" (not named). Children. Ex.: Friends, Jacob Houltshouser and John Linn. Witnesses: T. Ross(?) and Peter Lyalle.

LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF WILLIAM LEE DAVIDSON.

In the name of God amen, I William Lee Davidson, of the state of North Carolina and county of Rowan being in health of body and of perfect mind and memory thanks be given to God, calling to mind the mortality of my Body and knowing that it is appointed for all men once to die do make and ordain this my Last Will & Testament, that is to say principally and first of all I give and recommend my soul into the hands of almighty God that give it, and my Body I recommend to the

earth to be buried in a decent and Christian manner at the discretion of my executors ; Nothing doubting but at the general resurrection I shall receive the same again, by the mighty power of God, and as touching such Worldly Estate wherewith it has pleased God to bless me in this, I give, *demise* and dispose of the same in the following manner & form Imprimis, It is my will & I do order that in the first place, all my just Debts & funeral Charges be paid & *Satisfyed*..”..”

Item, I do give & Bequeath unto my well beloved Wife, Mary Davidson one—blooded Sorrel Mare together with a Saddle & Bridle besides her thirds and likewise the use of the plantation on which I now live *untill* my son George comes of age, for which she is to take proper care of the children and *gave* them proper Learning or as much Learning as she thinks is necessary she is also to have the Discretionary use of the pay arising from my services in the army during her Widowhood for the use of the family.....

Item I do give and bequeath unto my beloved sons George Davidson, John Alexander Davidson & Ephriam Brevard Davidson the Tract of land I now live on, my three Lots in the Town of Charlotte in Mecklenburg—County N°. Carolina together with all the lands that may be confirmed to me or my officers as a reward for my services to the United States of America to be divided into three proportions of as equal value as *possible* by my Executors and each of my sons above mentioned to have one share which the Executors are to determine to them severally according as their *Circumstances* may make it prudent or fit at the time of the Division which is left to the discretion of my Executors.....

My Negroes all the remainder of my land goods Chattels &C. (except a tract of land Containing four Hundred Acres *lieing* on rich land Mountain in Burk County and a tract of land entered by James Davidson in my behalf at the old Camping ground on a fork of Broad River in Burk County

to be Divided into four equal parts one of which is to be given at the Discretion of my Executors to my three sons above mentioned.....

Item I do give & Bequeath unto my well Beloved Daughters Jean Davidson, Namela Davidson and *Marjeret* Davidson and the child with which my wife is now pregnant the remaining part of my Estate, including the two tracts above to be Equally Divided amongst them, should the last be a Daughter, But if a Son he is to have the land mentioned on Richland Mountain & Broad River and the Remainder to be equally Distributed by my Executors to my three Daughters mentioned.....

I do constitute and appoint John Brevard, Esq^r John Dickey & William Sharp, Esq^r to be my whole executors of this my last Will & Testament and do hereby utterly revoke & Disanull all & every other former Testaments, Wills, Legacies & Executors by me in any wise before named Willed or Bequeathed, Ratifying and Confirming this and no other to be my last Will and Testament in Witness Whereof I have hereunto set my hand & Seal this *seaventeenth* of Day of Decem^r in the year of our Lord one thousand seven Hundred and Eighty.....

W^m L. DAVIDSON (Seal)

Signed, Sealed, Published, pronounced and Declared by the said Will^m Davidson as his last Will and Testament in the presence of us, who in his *presents* and in the *presents* of each other have hereunto subscribed our names.

ROBERT WILSON.

JAS. CRAWFORD.

DAVID SHELTON.

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SKETCH

By MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

Robert Ney McNeely, the author of the sketch of "Union County" in this issue of the BOOKLET, was born on a farm near Waxhaw, North Carolina, November 12, 1883. He is the son of Robert and Henrietta (Belk) McNeely, names closely linked with this section of the State, and numbered among the best and most respected of the old families of the Waxhaws.

Mr. McNeely was named by his father after Marshal Ney of France. His father was led to believe, as many others were, that the French Marshal and the "Ney" who taught school in North Carolina were one and the same man. Except that some of the pupils of the North Carolina teacher lived in this county and firmly believed that their teacher was the French Marshal there is no other proof than what has already been written that the North Carolina teacher was a Marshal of France. Mr. McNeely was prepared for college at the College Hill and the Waxhaw schools, taught school a couple of years and then entered the University of North Carolina, where he graduated with the degree of LL.B. At the University he won the Bryan Sheppard prize of \$25 in gold, for the best thesis on a legal subject. He studied law under Judge James C. MacRae, admitted to the bar at Monroe in 1907 and has practiced here ever since. He was elected to the State Legislature in 1909, and was at one time called to the chair by the Speaker and asked to preside over the House for a while. Fond of the law and devoted to the profession, he has met with encouraging and growing success. It is quite apparent after reading the sketch of Union County that Mr. McNeely is well read in American history and an

unquestioned authority upon the local history and traditions of Western North Carolina. From the energy and force thus far displayed by him his fellow citizens have reason to look forward with growing interest to further and greater development.

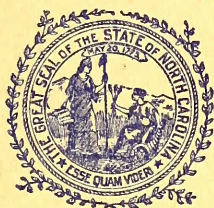
A biographical and genealogical sketch of Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood, who writes of the "Masonic Revolutionary Patriots in North Carolina" in this number of the BOOKLET, appeared in Vol. VIII, 1.

Vol. XII

OCTOBER, 1912

No. 2

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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SINGLE NUMBERS 35 CENTS

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

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EDITOR:

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

VOLUME XII

History of Union County, Including the Waxhaw Settlement.

Mr. Ney McNeely

The Forest (Poem).....*Mr. R. F. Jarrett*

Masonic Revolutionary Patriots in North Carolina.

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood

Our Forests—What They Have Done, Are Doing, and May Do

for North Carolina.....*Dr. Collier Cobb*

Some Notable Senatorial Campaigns in North Carolina.

Judge Robert W. Winston

Historic Homes, Part VI: Palmyra in the Happy Valley.

Mrs. Lindsay Patterson

Elizabeth Maxwell Steele: the Famous Revolutionary Patriot.

Dr. Archibald Henderson

Reprint of Washington's Diary, written in North Carolina.

The Confederacy (Poem).....*Mr. R. F. Jarrett*

History of the Whig Party in North Carolina.

North Carolina's Social Life, Ante-bellum.....*Major E. J. Hale*

How "Carolina" Came to be Written.....*Mr. Jaques Busbee*

Old letters, heretofore unpublished, bearing on the Social Life of the different periods of North Carolina's History, will appear hereafter in THE BOOKLET.

This list of subjects may be changed, as circumstances sometimes prevent the writers from keeping their engagements.

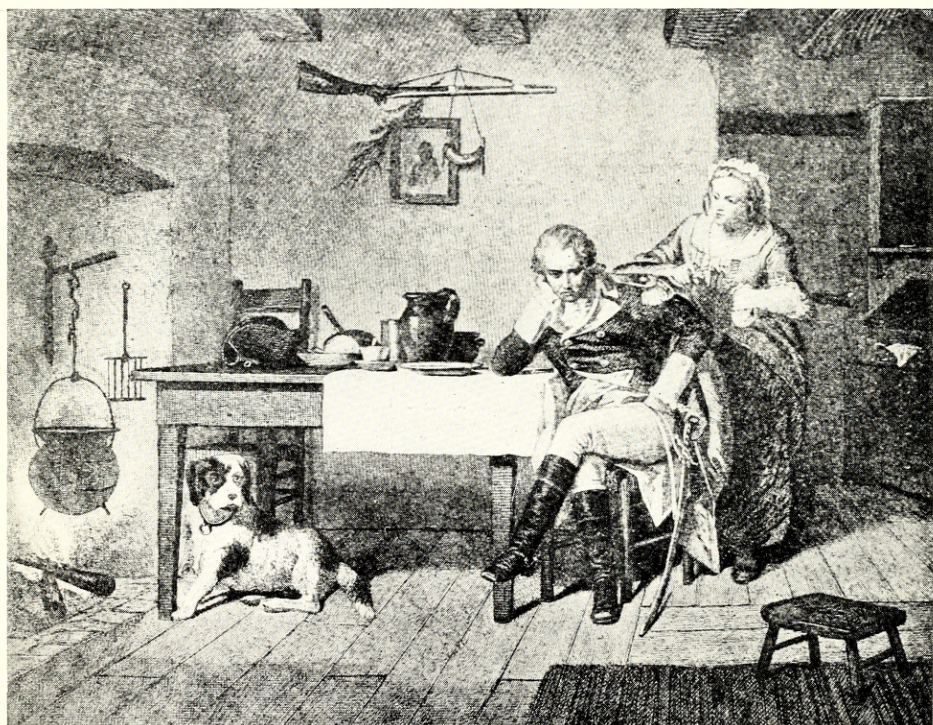
The histories of the separate counties will in the future be a special feature of THE BOOKLET. When necessary, an entire issue will be devoted to a paper on one county.

THE BOOKLET will print abstracts of wills prior to 1800, as sources of biography, history and genealogy. Mrs. M. G. McCubbins will contribute abstracts of wills and marriage bonds in Rowan County to the coming volume. Hon. F. D. Winston will furnish similar data from Bertie County.

Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has consented to edit the Biographical Sketches hereafter.

Parties who wish to renew their subscriptions to THE BOOKLET for Vol. XII are requested to give notice at once.

Many numbers of Volumes I to XI for sale.



Mrs. Steel presenting two bags of specie to General Greene.
(From painting by Alonzo Chappel.)

Vol. XII

OCTOBER, 1912

No. 2

The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."*

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

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*Died December 12, 1904.

†Died November 25, 1911.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

Vol. XII

OCTOBER, 1912

No. 2

ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEEL: PATRIOT

By ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

I.

Commanding the approach to the majestic State Capitol building at Columbia, S. C., has but recently been erected a noble specimen of the sculptor's art. In a chair of state, suggestive of Imperial Roman grandeur, is seated a matron as noble in appearance, as stately in bearing, as the most celebrated matron of classic Roman history. Pressing forward to fling their floral offerings at her feet are two lovely cherubs; and Fame, supremely proud in the glad fulfillment of her vocation, is about to crown the matron, all unconscious of the sublime decoration, with a wreath of laurel. In the expression upon the face of the matron, whose striking head in its facial features represents a composite of Southern traits, are mingled pride—for the heroism of the South; contemplation—in recollection of the trials of her people; and ineffable sadness—for the spent lives and frustrated hopes of a gallant army whelmed under the might of numbers. From the pediment of that monument speak out these chiseled words:

When reverses followed victories, when want displaced plenty, when mourning for the flower of Southern manhood darkened countless homes, when government tottered and chaos threatened, the women were steadfast and unafraid. They were unchanged in their devotion, unshaken in their patriotism, unwearied in ministrations, uncomplaining in sacrifices, splendid in fortitude; they strove while they wept.*

*The inscription, a portion of which is quoted here, was written by Wm. E. Gonzales.

The inspiration to celebrate the loyalty, patriotism, and self-sacrifice of the women of the South in the War between the States, has filled today the heart of the New South. Along with this quickened inspiration, which has touched the spirit of the younger generation, goes the impulse to celebrate the patriotic women of an earlier day, the fostering mothers of the infancy of the Republic. The numerous patriotic societies, now devoting their zealous efforts towards memorializing the heroism of Revolutionary and Colonial days, have caught the true spirit of Fronde, who said that "history is a voice forever sounding across the centuries the laws of right and wrong." Not all of history is writ in the blood of "war and war's alarms." The courage and endurance of the gentler sex, their unselfish devotion to their country, the uplifting moral force of their fidelity to principle and loyalty to a cause, the high example of their generosity in lavish expenditure of optimism and ready contribution of personal earnings, inspiring the soldiery to renewed efforts of energy and sturdier martial exploits—these were contributions of incalculable moment in firing and keeping alight the flame of Revolutionary patriotism. Such influences—of hope, inspiration, faith, generosity—as well as the victories of shot and shell, of musket and cutlass, now at last are beginning to win the outspoken and tangible gratitude of a loyal people.

II.

It is the comment of the stranger within North Carolina's borders, even of the New Englander, that nowhere is local history so completely bone and sinew of the historical curriculum of the child's education as in North Carolina. Not even in New England, that paradise of the historian, the antiquarian, and of the average citizen informed with minute knowledge of and active pride in his section's past, is the accent in the historical education of the child so thrown upon

the local contribution, as in this State. With good reason may the patriotic societies insist that, hereafter, the local contributions of the patriotic women in the Revolutionary period assume their just value in the perspective of our history.

No American colony, one ventures to say, surpassed North Carolina in the number and variety of instrumentalities by which women aided the American patriots and fostered the spirit of opposition to the unjust legislation of a misguided Parliament and the fatuous blindness of a recalcitrant King. For bravery and endurance, North Carolina can point to Betsy Dowdy and her famous ride; for the display of physical courage in opposing the enemies of her country, to Rachel Caldwell; for unshaken moral courage, and for wit, as exasperating as it was ready, to Mary Slocumb and Mrs. Ashe; for supreme patriotism—the one in offering a husband and seven sons to her country's service, the other in giving "eight sons to the rebel army,"—to Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Brevard; for generosity instinct with self-sacrifice, to Elizabeth Maxwell Steel. This is but a first division in the long roll of honor.

For feminine naïvete and charm, as well as for loyalty of a delightfully unexpected variety, the action of the ladies of Mecklenburg and Rowan is unparalleled—the voluntarily uniting in an association "not to receive the addresses of any young gentlemen—(except the brave volunteers who served in the expedition to South Carolina, and assisted in subduing the Scovilite insurgents), the ladies being of opinion that such persons as stay loitering at home, when the important calls of their country demand their military services abroad, must certainly be destitute of that nobleness of sentiment, that brave, manly spirit, which would qualify them to be the defenders and guardians of the fair sex."* Is it any wonder

**South Carolina and American General Gazette*, February 9, 1776.

that the Committee of Safety of Rowan County, in response to the request of the ladies for approbation of their resolutions, forthwith resolved with mingled mirth and pride, "that this committee present their cordial thanks to the said young ladies for so spirited a performance; look upon the resolutions to be sensible and polite; that they merit the honor, and are worthy the imitation of every young lady in America."* Equally inspired by patriotic sentiment, and, furthermore, peculiarly noteworthy for their practical defiance of British injustice, were the resolutions of the famous and internationally historic Edenton Tea Party, inspired by the action of the Provincial deputies of North Carolina, "not to drink any more tea, nor wear any more British cloth, etc." The ladies declare that they can not be indifferent on any occasion that appears nearly to affect the peace and happiness of their country; pronounce their action a "duty which we owe, not only to our near and dear connections, who have concurred in them, but to ourselves, who are essentially interested in their welfare"; and proceed to give to America this "memorable proof of their patriotism."†

III.

On October 11, 1911, was unveiled at Salisbury, N. C., by the Daughters of the American Revolution, a bronze memorial tablet to Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, doubtless the most famous, nationally, of all North Carolina's patriotic women of the Revolution. The tablet, one and one-half by two feet in size, bears the following inscription:

*Records, Salisbury, N. C., May 8, 1776.

†*Morning Chronicle and London Advertiser*, January 16, 1775.



Tablet at Salisbury, N. C., set up on the site of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel's Tavern.

D. A. R.
THIS TABLET
IS ERECTED TO THE MEMORY OF
ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE
PATRIOT
BY THE
ELIZABETH MAXWELL STEELE CHAPTER
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION
1781-1911

The tablet was erected upon the very spot which witnessed the patriotic action of this fine and generous spirit—being set into the granite column, at the Smith Drug Company's shop, facing on Main Street and situated near the corner of Main and Council streets.* After prayer by the Rev. Byron Clark of the First Presbyterian Church of Salisbury, Mrs. J. P. Moore, Regent of the local chapter, to whose efforts the event was in such large measure due, spoke as follows:

"Friends having placed this tablet to mark an historic spot and to commemorate the deed of the illustrious Revolutionary patriot, Elizabeth Maxwell Steele, we come with reverence to finish that which we have begun. We hope by our example and precept to uplift the youth of our State to perpetuate our history and to promote patriotism. We, therefore, in the name of the Elizabeth Maxwell Steele Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, unveil this marker for the love of the Old North State and our country."

Mrs. William N. Reynolds, of Winston-Salem, State Regent, then spoke the following dedicatory words:

"It is our very great pleasure and privilege to gather together to do honor to one who so nobly served her day and generation that she was an honor to the land she loved so well. In the words of Holy Writ, she 'stretched forth her hands to the poor and needy, and in her tongue was the law of kindness.' And because of that, she, being dead, yet speaketh, and her works do follow her.

"It is with tender pride that the Daughters of the American Revolution come to crown with immortelles that gracious daughter

*The tablet, hid from view by a large United States flag, was unveiled by Misses Mary Henderson and Janet Quinn, of Salisbury, and wreathed by Miss Elizabeth Steele Clary, of Greensboro, and Master Richard Henderson, Jr., of Salisbury. The orator of the occasion, whose address was published in full in the *Salisbury Evening Post*, October 12, 1911, was the Hon. Theo. F. Kluttz, of Salisbury. Benediction was pronounced by Dr. J. F. Mallett, rector of St. Luke's Episcopal Church.

of Rowan, who, in the darkest hour of her country's need, gave of her abundance and sent the soldier hero on his way, cheered and strengthened, to fight his country's battles. Those battles were won, not by might, not by power, but by the blessing of Almighty God; and thirteen weak, struggling colonies became one of the great nations of the earth.

"Great with granaries that feed the world; great with a material prosperity that seemingly has no limit; great with a growth so stupendous that no man may foresee the end. All are hers. And yet, the true, the only real greatness, that of a nation whose God is the Lord, must be made and kept by the womanhood of that nation. It was given us by women like Elizabeth Maxwell Steele. It must be kept a sacred trust by those of us who today hold in our hands that priceless inheritance. It is our great and high mission as Daughters of the American Revolution to pass it on, great and glorious and untainted, to those who shall come after, and we are helping to do this when we honor the memory of one of whom it may be said—as it was of one of England's greatest queens—"Those about her from her shall learn the perfect ways of honor."

"We do well to honor her memory," said the orator on that occasion, Hon. Theo. F. Kluttz, "and to keep alive the remembrance of her womanly contribution to the cause of liberty and independence." That she may live in historic memory, and that the details and message of her life may not be lost to posterity, the present writer has undertaken this historical monograph. The recent discovery, in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, of a number of autograph letters of Mrs. Steel, written to her brother-in-law, Ephraim Steel, during the Revolutionary period, appreciably adds, to this impression of her life and character, the thrill and vitality of contemporaneous human interest.

IV.

In the second quarter of the eighteenth century, the Maxwell family emigrated to Rowan County, North Carolina, from Pennsylvania. They were borne southward in that migration of the peoples—Pennsylvania Germans, Eng-

lish, Scotch-Irish, and Highland Scotch— from Maryland, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, which carried the Robertsons to Guilford, the Seviers and Shelys to Watauga, the Hendersons to Granville, the Harts to Orange, the Boones and Bryans to Rowan. When the Maxwell family reached Salisbury they found that the place had already been settled by emigrants who had followed thither the course of the old Trading Path. The family—the parents and two children, a boy and a girl—settled in the western part of Rowan County. Elizabeth was born in 1733, and was, Rumble says, a native of west Rowan. Her brother, James Maxwell, a man of rare culture and refinement, enjoyed the privilege of studying medicine under the greatest Scotch physicians of the day in Edinburgh. In time, he became dissatisfied with the location of the family in Rowan, and returned to Pennsylvania, presumably after the marriage of his sister, Elizabeth, to Mr. Robert Gillespie.

In 1756, or shortly before, Robert Gillespie settled in Salisbury. In partnership with Thomas Bashford he purchased a large number of lots there in 1757.* One of these lots was the one upon which they built and conducted the tavern, inn, or “ordinary,” as an inn was often called in those days, which stood near the corner of Main (formerly Corbin) and Council streets. The license to conduct this inn was granted to “Bashford & Gillespie” in 1756.† The “tariff” of liquors sold at these inns in Salisbury, fixed by the County Court, reminds one, because of the number and variety of potable refreshments ever on tap, of those English taverns on which Charles Dickens, in the language of the late lamented “Professor” Thomas Dunston, loved to “dilate, pre-

*In 1757 they purchased lots Nos. 3, 11 and 12 in the great “East Square,” from Carter and Foster, Trustees of the Township of Salisbury. These lots contained 144 square poles each, and on one of them they established their inn. Cf. Rumble's *Rowan County*, chapters VI and VII.

†Records of the Inferior Court, Salisbury, dating from 1753.

varicate, and divulge." The tariff for supplies and accommodations at this period (1755) is as follows:

Rum, Whiskey and Spirituous Liquors & so in Proportion p Gal.....	6— 0
Loaf sugar Punch p Quart with $\frac{1}{2}$ point of Liquor in it	0—10
Brown sugar Ditto p Ditto.....	0— 8
Wine p Quart.....	1— 6
Stewed Spirits p Quart & so in proportion.....	2— 6
Good Home Brewed Ale p Quart.....	0— 4
English Beer p Quart.....	1— 0
For dinner of roast or boiled flesh.....	1 shilling
For supper and breakfast, each.....	6 pence
For lodging over night, good bed.....	2 pence
For stablage (24 hours) with good hay or fodder....	6 pence
For pasturage, first 24 hours.....	4 pence
For pasturage, every 24 hours after.....	2 pence
For Indian corn or other grain, p quart.....	2 pence

In May, 1756, Mr. Chief Justice Henley held a conference in Salisbury, at the house of Mr. Peter Arrand, with King Hagler of the Catawba Nation, fifteen of his principal warriors and some thirty of his young men, painted and armed after their fashion in time of war. The Indians were entertained at the expense of the colony, provisions being supplied them by the licensed ordinaries of Gillespie & Bashford, John Lewis Beard, Peter Arrand, and by various individuals.* Robert Gillespie was evidently a man of considerable means, for on June 2, 1758, he sold to William Harrison and James Stewart four and one-half lots in the town of Salisbury—"No. one in the West Square, No. two in said Square, and No. two in the South Square, and No. four in the South Square, also one Moiety or half-part of a lot, No. nine, in the East Square"—, together with four other tracts of lands, totalling fourteen hundred and seven acres.†

* In the Reports of the Committee of Public Claims, Edenton, November 27, 1758 appears the following entry: "Robert Gillespie of Rowan County was allowed his claim of Eight pounds eight shillings for provision for the Indians, as by acct rendered. *Col. Rec.*, V, 981.

† Records for the Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Salisbury, Rowan County, held for said County on the third Tuesday in April, 1762. The numbered lots within the town limits may be identified by means of the town plat, still preserved.

To Robert Gillespie and his wife, Elizabeth, who ably assisted him in managing the inn, were born two children, a son Robert, who became an officer in the American army, and a daughter, Margaret, who, on July 2, 1776, was united in marriage to a young Presbyterian preacher, Samuel Eusebius McCorkle, afterwards famous as scholar and divine.* The happiness brought by the two children was rudely interrupted in 1760, when, in one of the skirmishes which Col. Hugh Waddell, Commander at Fort Dobbs, had with the Indians in defense of the settlements, Robert Gillespie, Sr., was scalped by the Indians, and died from the effects of his wounds.† Elizabeth Gillespie, for her proven business capacity, was appointed administrator of her husband's estate, as evidenced by the following entry in the Records of the Inferior Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, Salisbury, third Tuesday in October, 1762: "Elizabeth Gillespie, Adm. of Robert Gillespie Came into Open Court and [made] a final Settlement and there App^d that there Remains Forty Shillings proc. Mon. in her Hands, which Sum was allowed her for her Trouble and Expences in and about the S^d Estate, &c."

Some years after the death of her husband (in 1763, to be precise), Elizabeth Maxwell Gillespie was married a second time—on this occasion to a gentleman of Scotch-Irish strain, an emigrant from Pennsylvania, William Steel.‡ He was one of a family of eight sons and one daughter, whose parents were Samuel and Mary (Stevenson) Steel. Six of the broth-

* In his *Sketches of North Carolina*, p. 354, Foote incorrectly states that the Rev. S. E. McCorkle married Miss *Steele*, instead of Miss Gillespie. For an elaborate sketch of Dr. McCorkle, cf. Foote, ch. XXVI.

† For an account of one of these engagements with the Indians, cf. *Col. Rec.*, VI, 230. Robert Campbell, who was scalped in this skirmish, subsequently recovered from his wounds and was recompensed by the colony in the sum of £20. (*Col. Rec.*, VI, 422.)

‡ The family in this generation spelled the name without the final *e*. Autograph signatures of both William Steel and Elizabeth, his wife, shown in the present monograph demonstrate this. The family so spelled the name in all probability to distinguish themselves from the other family of Steeles living in Pennsylvania. The next and all succeeding generations of both the North Carolina and Pennsylvania branches of William Steel's family spelled the name Steele.

ers, John, Thomas, William, Joseph, Samuel, and Ephraim, came to America from their home in Ireland; while of the other members of the family remaining in Ireland, Ninian, who was educated at Dublin University, became an eminent preacher, James a prosperous farmer, and "Jinny" married a man named George Hogg, bore him four or five children, and died while yet a young woman.* John, William, Thomas, and Joseph came to America soon after reaching man's estate, and "engaged in the affairs of their adopted land with commendable energy." Joseph, who fixed his residence at Hilton Head, S. C., was a man of means, engaged chiefly in importing merchandise from the West Indies. After the fall of Charleston, in May, 1780, all trace of him was lost by his relations. John settled permanently at Carlisle, Pennsylvania; and William and Joseph, before their settlement in the South, doubtless spent some time in Pennsylvania. Thomas, who was of a roving disposition, enjoyed the wild, free life of the frontier, and as late as 1786 was living near the road to Fort Pitt. He remained unmarried, enlisted in the Continental army, and died about 1790.

The picturesque tavern kept by William and Elizabeth Steel was a microcosm of the life of the period. Here, in miniature, were caught the vivid impressions of the moving events and poignant passions of the hour. Here assembled the Regulators to mature their plans against those vultures of the courts, Frohock and Fanning.† Here dined Waightstill Avery, then novice in the law, the courtly William Hooper, and "other gentlemen of the bar" with the new Justice of the Superior Court, Richard Henderson. Here, too, doubtless, Richard Henderson planned with Daniel Boone, John Findlay, and John Stuart that long and extensive scouting expedition to the wilderness of Kentucky in

* Cf. *The Steele Family in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania*; The Genealogical Publishing Co., Chicago. Also *The Steele Family*, by D. S. Durrie: Albany, 1859.

† *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VIII, 521.

search of rich lands, which subsequently led to the famous Colony of Transylvania and the first permanent colonization of the West. Here the gay barristers, Waightstill Avery, John Williams, Alexander Martin, Adlai Osborne, John Dunn, Samuel Spencer, and William Hooper sipped their sugared whiskey and nutmeg sangaree, and occasionally here, no doubt, as at Hillsborough, "narrowly escaped being intoxicated" (Avery's Diary—1769). Still in a perfect state of preservation are account books of the Steel Tavern, covering a considerable number of years.*



On Wednesday, August 7, 1771, pursuant to an act of the Assembly (Newbern, 1770), William Steel took the oath and qualified as Commissioner of the Borough of Salisbury. The other Commissioners were Matthew Troy, Daniel Little, John Lewis Beard, Peter Ribe, William Temple Coles, James Kerr, Maxwell Chambers, Alexander Martin, and John Dunn†.

William Steel died on November 1, 1773, at the age of thirty-nine, leaving only one son, who was born on November 16, 1764.‡ This was John Steele, known in history as General Steele, one of the most eminent men in the history of the

* I have recently examined these old account books, now in the possession of Captain Richard Henderson (U. S. Navy, retired), great-grandson of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel. I append one entry:

April 12th., 1773.

Waightstill Avery....To Sangaree.

2 s.

† Records of the Inferior Court, Rowan County, Salisbury, N. C.

‡ William Steel's will, dated September 9, 1773, probated May 7, 1774, contains one clause willing certain property, contingently, to the four children of his brother, John Steel.

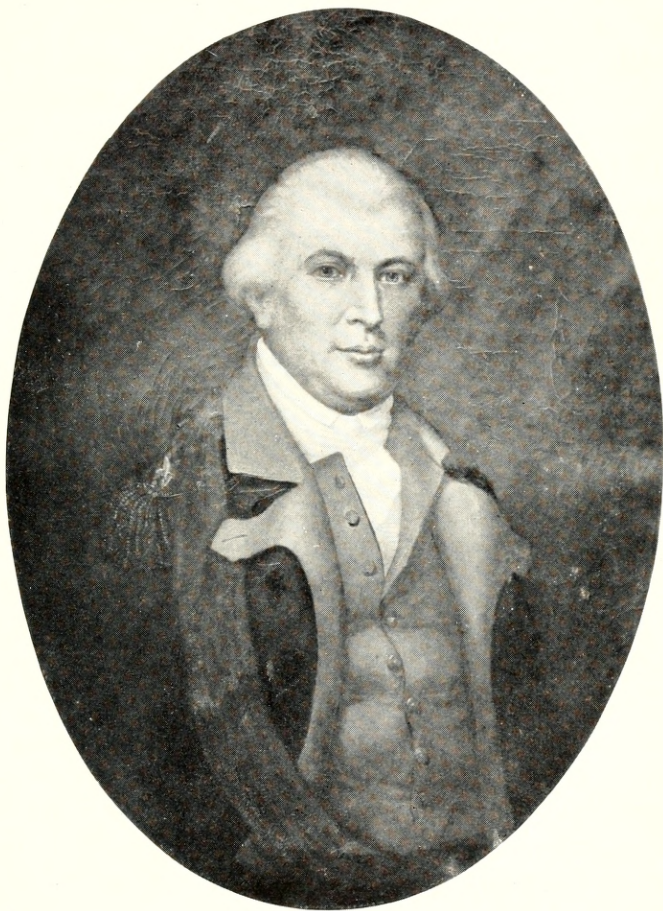
State.* His tombstone, in the old family graveyard at the Steele homestead, now "Steeleworth," just within the limits of the town of Salisbury, at present the home of the family of Capt. Richard Henderson, bears this striking inscription:

CONSECATED BY CONJUGAL
AND
FILIAL AFFECTION.
AN ENLIGHTENED STATESMAN,
A VIGILANT PATRIOT,
AN ACCOMPLISHED GENTLEMAN.
THE ARCHIVES OF HIS COUNTRY TESTIFY
THE SERVICES OF HIS SHORT BUT USEFUL
LIFE. LONG WILL THAT COUNTRY DEPLORE
HIS LOSS. BUT WHEN WILL THIS SE-
QUESTERED SPOT CEASE TO WITNESS THE
SACRED SORROW OF HIS FAMILY
AND FRIENDS?

V.

On a wild wintry night in the early hours of the first of February, 1781, a lonely horseman sits his weary steed anxiously awaiting news of the day's campaign. The rain is slowly falling upon this solitary figure—a man of fine presence, manly beauty, erect and commanding bearing, vigorous and well proportioned frame. As evening darkens into night and the leaden-footed hours creep by, this soldierly figure continues to maintain his station at the rallying point of the militia, seven miles below Torrence's Tavern, on the road to Salisbury. This young man of only thirty-nine, in such gloomy dejection awaiting news of the day's conflict, whose fair and florid complexion has not entirely

* Of his life there is no occasion to speak here. Ample materials for his biography are now in the possession of the North Carolina Historical Commission, the archives of the University of North Carolina, and the present writer. Suffice it to say that he died at the early age of fifty (August 14, 1815), having served as Member of Congress, Member and Speaker of the House of Commons, Commissioner on the N. C.-S. C. Boundary Line, General of Militia, first Comptroller of the Treasury during the administrations of Washington, who was his intimate friend, and Adams, and invited to serve in the same capacity by Jefferson, his political opposite. For brief accounts of his life, cf. the *Sprunt Historical Monograph, No. 3* (with original letters); Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, under "Rowan County"; and Rumble's *Rowan County*.



@ Nathanael Greene

A copy of Charles Willson²Peale's portrait of General Nathaniel Greene. Owned by his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Wm. Brenton Greene, Jr.

yielded to the exposures of five campaigns, is the most brilliant soldier, leader, and strategist, bar Washington, on the American continent—the “Fabius of America,” General Nathaniel Greene.

It is the crucial hour of that remarkable strategic movement, the retreat of the Americans before the hotly pursuing Cornwallis. The very fate of the South, and perhaps of the American colonies, hangs in the balance. Anxiety lies heavy upon Greene, for his resources are at the very lowest ebb. Only by bringing out the militia can he venture to oppose the unrelenting pursuit of Cornwallis; and for that he needs ready money to distribute among the soldiers, and a fresh store of hope and enthusiasm with which to fire his jaded soldiers to renewed efforts. On the preceding day he has sent Morgan forward post-haste towards the Yadkin, while he remains behind to make one more desperate effort to collect and embody the militia.

Midnight is some time past when the anxious watcher, alert on his lonely vigil, hears the splashing plod of a horse's hoofs upon the sodden road. The jaded messenger, drenched with rain, brings the news that gives despair: “General Davidson is killed, the militia scattered; Cornwallis has effected the passage of the Catawba, and Huger is being hotly pressed by the British.” In profound dejection over the depressing news, which seems to shatter his last hope of resisting the advance of Cornwallis and of successfully evading disaster, Greene disconsolately turns his horse's head and begins the long, weary ride to Salisbury. Money for his unpaid troops, inspiration for fresh efforts to enable Huger and Morgan once more to unite forces and present an unbroken front to the enemy—these are sorely needed now. Where are they to come from? This lonely ride, in the blackest hours of this wild night, is symbolic of the lowest ebb in the

fortunes of the campaign in the South. It is the darkest hour just before the dawn.

After Morgan, who is stationed on the east bank of the Catawba, learns of the crossing of Cornwallis, at Cowan's Ford, he begins his retreat on February 1st towards the Yadkin along the Beattie's Ford, or Sherrill's Ford, Road to Salisbury. That afternoon the American troops march hilariously through the town, as they go occasionally punching out a window pane here and there with their bayonets. They encamp about half a mile east of town, on the Yadkin Road, in a beautiful grove with convenient springs and abundance of fuel ready to hand.* The surgeon of Morgan's army, Dr. Joseph Read, with the hospital stores and a number of wounded and disabled British officers who are prisoners, has reached Salisbury some time in advance of the main body of Morgan's command. Dr. Read at once establishes his headquarters at Steel's Tavern, facing on the main street of the town. While busily engaged here in writing paroles for such British officers as are unable from sickness and debility to proceed further, he glances through the window of his apartment overlooking the street and, in the dimness of the early dawn, observes approaching a solitary horseman enveloped in a long military cloak. A closer glance and he recognizes in the man riding up to the door, unaccompanied by his aides or a single individual, the leader of the American forces, General Greene. "It was impossible not to perceive in the deranged state of his dress and the stiffness of his limbs," says Dr. Read himself, "some symptoms of his late rapid movements and exposure to the weather."†

"How do you find yourself, General?" anxiously inquires the doctor.

To this inquiry Greene replies with the utmost dejection:

* In this grove is now located the residence of Hon. John Steele Henderson.

† Johnson's *Life of Greene*, Vol. I, ch. X, p. 417.

"Wretched beyond measure—fatigued, hungry, alone, penniless, and without a friend."

Mrs. Steel, who has come to the door on hearing the sound of voices, now steps forward, benevolence beaming from her countenance, and interjects with alacrity:

"That I deny"—and then, with an access of positiveness in her tone—"that I *most particularly* deny. In me, General, you and the American cause have a devoted friend. And this gentleman will not, I am certain, suffer you to be without a companion, as soon as the humane business about which he is employed, is finished. Only come in and rest and dry yourself, and in a very short time a hot breakfast shall cheer and refresh you."

The General, after his disagreeable ride of more than thirty miles in the rain, darkened by thoughts of the two disastrous skirmishes of the preceding day, at once enters the tavern, and disconsolately throws himself down into the nearest chair.

Mrs. Steel now busies herself in preparing refreshment for the tired traveler. In a short time a bountiful repast is spread before the distinguished guest, while a cheerful fire crackles on the hearth and sheds its genial warmth throughout the room. The hospitable greeting of Mrs. Steel, the comforting influences of the environment and the gratifying repast set before him, go far to restore the spirits of the disheartened general. When General Greene rode up to the door Mrs. Steel's quick ear had caught the general's plaint that he was penniless; and now, as he sits by the table, his head bowed upon his hand, she enters the room, carefully closes the door, and cautiously looks around to make sure they are not observed. Approaching General Greene and reminding him of the despondent words she had heard him utter on his arrival, Mrs. Steel once more assures him of her

sympathy and friendship. Drawing from under her apron two bags of specie, gold and silver coins, the savings of years which she has carefully hoarded in these precarious times, she presents them to him eagerly, with these simple, but memorable words:

"Take them; for you will need them, and I can do without them."

Though history does not record the exact words of the grateful General, his biographer says that "*an acquisition so important even to the public service*, was not to be declined from excess of delicacy." We may well imagine that General Greene expressed his gratitude in some such way as this:

"May Heaven bless you for your kind words and generous act! These two bags of specie now represent the treasure chest of the American army. They will put shoes on barefoot soldiers, feed hungry men, and further the cause of liberty. I accept your generous gift most gratefully in behalf of the public service, since it is given so generously. 'Tis by such patriotic actions as this that revolutions are made."*

Doubtless Mrs. Steel, as Rumple says, could have filled General Greene's pockets with "proclamation money," then worth less than were Confederate notes in the beginning of the year 1865. But silver and gold coins were incredibly scarce in Revolutionary days, and no American officer or gentleman could fail to be sensible of the value of such a gift.†

* For the best accounts of the episode upon which the present recital is based, cf. Johnson's *Life of Greene*, vol. I, ch. X, p. 417; Jethro Rumple's *History of Rowan County*, ch. XVII; Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina*, ch. XXVI, pp. 354-5; Mrs. E. F. Ellet's *Women of the Revolution* (Jacobs, Phila., 1900), vol. I, ch. XXIII; Irving's *Life of Washington*, vol. III, p. 345; Wheeler's *History of North Carolina*, under "Rowan County." The episode has found its way into fiction also, notably in the novel of Cyrus Townsend Brady: *When Blades are Out and Love's Afield* (Lippincott, Phila., 1901).

† The *Cyclopaedia of American Biographies*, vol. IV, p. 4, says: "Elizabeth Maxwell Steele gave all her savings to General Greene on his retreat, thus enabling him to feed his troops and cross the Yadkin before its swollen waters impeded the pursuit of Cornwallis." Two circumstances may serve to demonstrate the value which specie possessed in those days, both intrinsically and in the popular mind. It is now universally recognized by historians

In a letter to Washington during this very retreat, Greene writes: "The miserable situation of the troops for want of clothing has rendered the march the most painful imaginable, many hundreds of the soldiers marking the ground with their bloody feet.—*I have not a shilling to obtain intelligence with.*"* It was fortunate for General Greene that he visited Steel's Tavern when he did, *i. e.*, on February 2, before Mrs. Steel had been despoiled of her property by the British. During their stay in Salisbury of two days, immediately following Greene's departure, the British levied upon the inhabitants for whatever they wanted. Says Mrs. Steel: "I was plundered of all my horses, dry cattle, horse forage, liquors and family provisions * * *."

VI.

Just before his departure from Salisbury, General Greene left at Steel's Tavern a memorial of very striking and unique character. While sitting in the dining room Greene's eye caught sight of the portraits of King George III and Queen Charlotte hanging on the wall, bearing record to a time long past when Americans loved the mother country and revered their sovereigns. These beautiful colored engravings had been presented to Mrs. Steel by her brother, James Maxwell, to whom they had been given, when he was a member of an embassy to England, by one of his friends, an official at the Court of St. James. The sight of the picture of George III filled General Greene's mind with mournful reflections over the sufferings which his countrymen were at that moment enduring, fleeing almost naked and with bare, bloody feet before the relentless pursuit of Cornwallis; and of the bloodshed in the struggle to throw off the shackles

that one of the strongly contributory causes of the peasant revolt known as the Regulation was the scarcity of specie. After the Revolution, even, Thomas Person won great reputation as a philanthropist, a building at the University of North Carolina being named in his honor and still bearing his name, because his benefaction, though only \$1,050, was paid in "hard money"—shining silver dollars.

* Greene Mss.

of slavery which Parliament and the English king were trying to fasten upon the colonies. With the generous gift of Mrs. Steel lying on the table before him, these sentiments returned to the General, mingled with a feeling of elation and confidence that now, succored in the hour of his need, he could once more fling defiance to British power and give King George full reason to regret his war upon the colonies. Taking a piece of charcoal from the fire-place he walked up to the picture of George III and wrote upon the back of it:

“O GEORGE HIDE THY FACE AND MOURN.”

Then, turning the face of the British king to the wall, General Greene bade good-bye to his hospitable and patriotic hostess, and, mounting his horse, hurriedly rode away, with light heart to superintend and direct the retreat of his little army and provide for their transportation across the Yadkin. For as his biographer and descendant says: “Never did relief come at a more propitious moment; nor would it be straining conjecture to suppose that he resumed his journey with his spirits cheered and lightened by this touching proof of woman’s devotion to the cause of her country.”*

In addition to its intrinsic value, Mrs. Steel’s gift encouraged Greene and heartened his jaded soldiery for that last burst of extra energy which seemed almost beyond human power. It gave him the spirit to direct that masterly retreat which, as Botta said, “would have done honor to the most celebrated captains of that, or any former epoch.” Overtaking Morgan, Greene crossed the Yadkin with his forces, the militia, newly aroused, harassing the British at every turn—and, rescued as if providentially by the sudden rise of the river, soon effected a junction with Huger on the seventh of February. In the retreat that followed occurred the almost unprecedented spectacle: the Americans

* George Washington Greene’s *Life of Greene*, N. Y., 1871.

under Col. Otho Williams covering Greene's rear, the British under the lead of Cornwallis himself, marching for many miles parallel with, and in sight of, each other—without firing a shot. Finally, on February 14, Greene was enabled to cross the Dan—thereby concluding that remarkable retreat of more than two hundred miles of which Washington wrote to Greene: "Your retreat before Cornwallis is highly applauded by all ranks."

One month later, on March 15, at Guilford Court House, Greene forced conclusions with Cornwallis on ground astutely chosen by the former on February 10th preceding, and, after a stubborn struggle, yielded a bloody field and, superficially, a victory to Cornwallis.*

The victory was a barren one for the British arms, and left Cornwallis in a truly desperate plight. "My situation here," writes Cornwallis to Phillips from Wilmington, "is very distressing. Greene took advantage of my being obliged to come to this place, and has marched to South Carolina."

In a letter (Salisbury, April 19, 1781) to her brother-in-law, Ephraim Steel, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, Mrs. Steel in one illuminating paragraph depicts the advantageous results for the country, wrought by the Battle of Guilford Court House:

"It comforts me to think that the enemy will probably never return. His Lordship soon after the 15th of March moved to Wilmington, and General Greene, by a masterly stroke, has turned rapidly towards Camden, in his rear, which I hope will fall into his hands before Cornwallis can

* As contemporary evidence of the presumption that this battle was regarded by the American military leaders as a virtual victory for Greene, it is pertinent to cite a passage from a letter of Washington to Jefferson ("Headquarters New Windsor, April 18, 1781"), which has only recently been brought to light: "I am glad to learn from the Letter of General Greene, a copy of which Your Excellency did me the honor to enclose on the 28th. Ult. that the Action of the 15th. had been severely felt by the Enemy, that their retreat bore evident marks of distress, and that our Army in good spirits were advancing upon them." The reference, "the Action of the 15th.," is to the Battle of Guilford Court House. In his letter of March 16 to Governor Jefferson, Major Charles Magill writes from "Camp at the Iron Works, Gilford County":—"Never was ground contested for with greater obstinacy, and never were Troops drawn off in better order. Such another dear bot day, must effectually ruin the British army . . ." *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 574.

reinforce the place. At least it will take the war out of this State. And leave his Lordship not one step further than before Gates' defeat."

Out of the apparent defeat at Guilford Court House, that pivotal battle of the Revolution, was thus wrought the most conclusive victory, foreshadowing and making possible the ultimate triumph of American Independence only seven months later at Yorktown, on October 19, 1781.

Surely it is no exaggeration to assert that, in the darkest hour of Greene's career, when his fortunes were at their lowest ebb and his own dauntless mettle failed him, the gift of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, loftily patriotic in its sentiment, providential in its timeliness, by its moral and inspiring effect, contributed in some appreciable measure to the ultimate achievement of American Independence.

VII.

The colored lithographs of King George III and Queen Charlotte, which are still carefully preserved, have had such curious and chequered careers that the story of their wanderings amply deserves recording. The following letter, for a copy of which I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. W. J. Andrews, Raleigh, N. C., is self-explanatory. The original is among the Swain Mss., in the archives of the University of North Carolina:

JANUARY 14, 1846.

HON. DAVID L. SWAIN:

I have been thus long delayed in performing the agreeable duty assigned my by your kind letter by a long and painful illness of Mrs. McGinn, which has confined her to her chamber and her bed for several weeks.

At the earliest moment which made the application proper I spoke to her in regard to the subject of your communication. The acknowledgements of the Historical Society I expressed as you requested and solicited the interesting relic which has been so long preserved in her family. It is, I am happy to say, cheerfully given. The Society will not however be indebted for it to Mrs. McGinn. The engraving which, as you will observe, is executed in a superior

style of workmanship was highly prized by Mrs. Steel, the grandmother of Mrs. McGinn, and was cherished during her life with great veneration. At her death it was given to her granddaughter, Elizabeth Steele, a sister of Mrs. McGinn, who was the wife of the Revd. James Bowman of Tennessee. Mrs. Bowman gave the engraving to a daughter of Mrs. McGinn, who bears her own name, a young lady not yet grown—who not only prizes it as a historical relic of interesting general associations but connected with a near and deceased relation. It was yielded therefore only from that sense of duty which the daughter of Dr. McCorkle has endeavored to faithfully impress on her own descendants. As to the autograph it no doubt is that of General Greene. The words express the feelings of the illustrious hero as to the character of George 3d, his conduct towards the colonies, and the effect of the war on the possessions of the British Government. They are greatly injured by time but in a favorable position you may distinguish each word if not each letter. "O George hide thy face and mourn" is the entire passage. The engraving, as I am informed by Mrs. McGinn, was procured while in England by a brother of her grandmother whose name was James Maxwell. He was from Pennsylvania, the residence of the family prior to their migration and settlement in our State. He had been educated in Edinburg where he studied the profession of medicine. He returned to Pennsylvania and afterwards visited England in some public capacity which is not now remembered. While there he obtained the Engraving of George the third—and engravings of other members of the royal family some of which are in a state of excellent preservation and which in style of execution will compare with the best specimens of the art under all the advantages of modern ingenuity. James Maxwell died at an early age, leaving to his sister the pictures to which I have referred and the memory of fine intellectual endowments and an exemplary life. I regret that no opportunity now occurs to transmit the engraving to its destined repository. It is somewhat impaired by time and it will require care to deliver it safely. The inscription by General Greene however which gives to it its value cannot be effaced by any accident likely to occur. I shall see to its preservation until some opportunity offers for its safe transmission to you. * * * I hope that you will be assured that it will afford me great pleasure to aid the Historical Society by any means in my power in collecting materials pertinent to its elevated object among the people of this revolutionary region.

I am, with great respect,

To the

HON. DAVID L. SWAIN,
Chapel Hill, No. Carolina.

Truly yours,

JAMES W. OSBORNE.

The Mrs. McGinn referred to in the above letter was a daughter of the Rev. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle and his wife, Margaret Gillespie, daughter of Robert Gillespie and his wife, Elizabeth Maxwell. I am indebted to Mr. R. D. W. Connor for permission to use the following letter which I recently discovered in the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission:

PARIS, TENN., Mar. 2, 1859.

HON. DAVID L. SWAIN.

DEAR SIR:—The University of North Carolina was presented some years ago, by my Mother, with a portrait of George III. of England, that had formerly been the property of my great grand Mother, Elizabeth Steel.

As a Revolutionary relic the value of this portrait is enhanced by having on the back of it, in the hand writing of Gen. Green, the following, "King (sic) George, hide thy face and mourn." This portrait and that of Charlotte, his Queen, for many years hung side by side in the house of Mrs. Steel, and afterwards for more than a third of a century at Dr. McCorkle's, and then at my Mother's until they were separated by the king's being sent to Chapel Hill.

The Queen is now in my possession, and the object of this communication is to inform you, that I desire the old couple to be again united, and I therefore offer for your acceptance the portrait of the Queen. And if you can suggest any means by which it can be forwarded to Chapel Hill, I will cheerfully send it. If you will accept the gift, please address me at your earliest convenience, as I expect to change my location in a few months.

Respectfully yours, J. B. MCGINN.

P. S. My address is, Rev. J. B. McGinn, Paris, Tenn.

The two pictures eventually reached Governor Swain safely. The picture of George III, doubtless because of its remarkable historic interest, was permitted by Mrs. McGinn to be displayed for a time in the court-house in Charlotte. The mention of this circumstance occurs in Foote's *Sketches of North Carolina* (p. 355), which was published in 1846. After the death of Governor Swain it was discovered that the relics of the North Carolina Historical Society were inextricably mixed with the personal effects of Governor Swain.

When the effects of Governor Swain's widow were sold in Raleigh on July 6, 1883, these pictures were bought by a young schoolboy. The story is so unusual, and the obligation towards him for preserving these pictures is so great that at my request he has given me the true history of his acquisition of the historic pictures.* The historian Wheeler says of the presentation by Mrs. Steel of the two bags of specie to General Greene: "This scene has been made the subject of both painting and sculpture."† The original painting of the scene was made by the artist Alonzo Chappel; and an engraving from the original painting, entitled "*Female Patriotism—Mrs. Steel and General Greene*," is to be found in J. A. Spencer's *History of the United States*, New York, 1874-1876, vol. 2, facing p. 121. For this information I am indebted to the Director of the Prints Division, Library of Congress. The whereabouts of the original painting I have been unable to discover. For the illustration accompanying this article (frontispiece) I am indebted to descendants of Mrs. Steel, Mrs. Eliza S. Lynch, and Mrs. E. E. McQueen, of Columbia, S. C., and to a descendant of

*"In the year 1882," says Mr. William J. Andrews, of Raleigh, N. C., "I was a pupil at the Lovejoy School House, then called the Raleigh Male Academy, Messrs. Fray and Morson, Principals. The N. C. History class recited in Mr. Morson's room, and the book used was the second edition of Moore's School History. I was not old enough to be in the class; but picking up a copy of the book belonging to one of the boys, which lay on my desk, I found this foot-note on the subject of the picture (I may not quote with perfect accuracy from memory): 'This picture with the writing still visible is in the possession of Governor Swain.' Knowing that Mrs. Swain lived in Raleigh and that my cousin, Miss Sallie Haywood, was a friend of hers, I asked Cousin Sallie to take me to see Mrs. Swain, so I could ask her to show me the picture. Being a small boy, and my request not seeming of much importance, I was put off from time to time until Mrs. Swain's death. The day before the sale, Cousin Sallie took me over the house with 'Old Aunt Thenie,' 72 years old, one of the old colored servants in the White family (Mrs. Swain was a Miss White). I finally found the pictures of George and Charlotte in the attic. Instinctively, I felt that here was the end of my quest, and on turning George around, I found the inscription in chalk as I had been told of it by my great grandmother Harris who had seen the picture when she was a young lady. This I learned at the age of four or five, while on a visit to my grandparents, Col. and Mrs. William Johnston, of Charlotte, N. C."

"Here now was I, a twelve-year old boy, with a chance to become the owner of a picture which I had longed merely to see. So I told Aunt Thenie that there were two old pictures in the attic that I wanted to buy next day at the sale. 'All right, honey,' she said, 'I'll take a rag up and wipe them clean and put them in the dining room.' The next day at the sale I waited until the auctioneer cried the pictures; and started them at five cents each. Some one bid ten, and I promptly raised to fifteen. The two pictures, George III and Queen Charlotte, were knocked down to me at thirty cents—every cent I had in my pocket."

"I knew and appreciated the value of my new possession. I consider that day spent at the Swain sale one of the red-letter days of my life."

Cf. also *Program of Exercises for N. C. Day*, Friday, Dec. 18, 1908, compiled by Mr. R. D. W. Connor.

† *Reminiscences of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 397.

General Greene, Miss Mary Ward Greene, of Newport, R. I. It is, examination has shown, a photographic copy of a wood cut of the original painting by Chappel. The picture possesses one remarkable feature, the head of Mrs. Steel, according to the testimony of Mrs. Lynch, having been copied from a miniature of her, and so represents her accurately as she really was.

No sculpture of the scene has ever come to my notice; nor have the efforts of the authorities in the Library of Congress been able to throw any light on the point. The plaque shown in the illustration accompanying this monograph was among the Swain effects. Through ignorance, and chiefly because it was partially mutilated, the plaque was thrown away as valueless. The aged servant, "Aunt Thenie" rescued it from the trash pile, and after gluing on the broken piece, gave or sold it to the present owner, Miss Sallie Haywood.*

The photograph of General Greene, accompanying the present monograph, was made from the famous portrait by Charles Willson Peale. For this photograph I am indebted to the kindness of the owner of the portrait, Mrs. William Brenton Greene, Jr., of Princeton, N. J. For permission to reproduce the pictures of King George and Queen Charlotte, I am indebted to Mr. W. J. Andrews, who also placed at my disposal the photograph of the plaque here shown.†

* At the top upon the scroll, may be distinguished the words "Gen. Greene" and "Mrs. Steel," above the heads of General Greene and Mrs. Steel, respectively. The artist who designed the plaque clearly copied the painting of Chappel.

† The inscription in Greene's handwriting on the back of King George's picture, now framed behind glass, is still perfectly legible, though now quite faint. A tracing in white paint on the glass cover, immediately above the inscription, makes it stand out, in the bold handwriting of Greene with startling distinctness. It is peculiarly interesting to observe that Greene seems first to have turned the picture upside down and begun to write—but realizing that the inscription would then appear upside down as the picture hung on the wall, with back to the front, he reversed the picture and wrote the inscription right side up. The photograph shows that he had already written "O G—," before he discovered his mistake.

In some quarters it was the habit of patriotic Americans to turn upside down, and leave hanging on the wall in this humiliating posture, pictures of George III. Pertinent to the incident of the present sketch is the following entry in the *Diary of John Adams*, II, 434:

Baltimore, February, 1777.

16. Sunday. Last evening I supped with my friends, Dr. Rush and Mr. Sargeant, at Mrs. Page's, over the bridge. The two Colonel Lees, Dr. Witherspoon, Mr. Adams, Mr. Gerry, Dr. Brownson, made the company. They have a fashion, in this town of reversing the picture of King George III in such families as have it. One of these topsy-turvy kings

VIII.

The episodes with which the present monograph deals have been made the subject of an interesting poem, by Grace Duffie Boylan, which appeared some years ago in the *Chicago Journal*. Mrs. Steel was a very religious and devout woman, properly indicated by the poem; the obituary notice, given later in this monograph, speaks for itself. The detail of her "hard, toil-roughened hand" must be granted to that excuse for inaccuracy euphemistically defined as "poetic license." Mrs. Steel assuredly left the polishing of her pans and the sanding of her floors to her servants. The poem, bearing these manifest inaccuracies, appears below:

THE DAME O' SALISBURY TOWN.

Elizabeth Steele of Salisbury Town
 Polished her pans and sanded her floor,
 And sat to read in the sacred book
 Of the times when war shall be no more.

She had heard the boom of British guns
 As mothers hear who have sons to mourn;
 Whose e'er the shot, and where'er its home,
 The heart in her kerchiefed breast was torn.

Elizabeth Steele had heard the news
 "King's Mountain's won and the red coats flee!"
 But she only asked: "Goodsire, my boys—
 Is't well with them? Do they ride to me?"

But who can stop to count one, count two,
 When lives go out like a candle's flame?
 What courier halts on his way to tell
 The price we pay for a battle's game?

was hung up in the room where we supped, and under it were written these lines, by Mr. Throop, as we are told:

Behold the man, who had it in his power
 To make a kingdom tremble and adore,
 Intoxicate with folly. See his head
 Placed where the meanest of his subjects tread.
 Like Lucifer, the giddy tyrant fell;
 He lifts his heel to Heaven, but points his head to Hell.

She had heard how Morgan crossed the flood
That rose a bar to the English breast.
And she whispered low: "Were any drowned?"
And dreamed of two on the torrent's crest.

But who can stop for a woman's cry?
The post must ride, be it woe or weal;
He struck his spurs, and he galloped by—
And what could a mother do but kneel?

Hers was only to watch and wait,
And hers was only to weep and pray;
Her part had been but to rear good sons
And send them out to the guns that day.

She scoured, she sanded, she kept her peace,
She spun her flax by the open door;
Then sat to read in the holy word
Of the times when war shall be no more.

Nathaniel Greene, below Cowan's Ford,
Had fought, had won, and had lost the field,
And his minute men with one accord
Had vowed it better to run than yield.

Ragged and hungry and weary and cold,
Penniless, friendless, and sick with defeat,
They came to the edge of Salisb'ry town,
The bitter way of that great retreat.

Elizabeth saw the famished horde;
She took them food and she gave them cheer,
She warmed and fed and comforted
The sons some mothers were holding dear.

She gave her purse to the General's keep;
" 'Tis all I have, but 'tis yours," she said,
And above her hard, toil-roughened hand
Nathaniel Greene bent reverent head.

He raised his eye and his eagle glance
Swept to the face of King George the Third,
That hung on the wall. He strode across
And turned it around, with a trooper's word.

And scribed with a piece of chalk, like this—
'Tis plain to see on the canvas worn,
Bold was his hand with the pen or sword:
"Oh George! Oh King! Hide thy face and mourn."

Elizabeth then their knapsacks filled;
She pressed each hand and she touched each head,
As she would have wished those mothers far
To have blessed her lads—perhaps now dead!

But hark! A shout! A trample! A halt!
One cry—and a pris'ner bound and fast,
Elizabeth laughed in precious chains—
The arms of her own brave boys at last.

This is the tale of Elizabeth Steele,
Who fed Greene's host, and who won renown;
And I sing this song o'er a hundred years,
In praise of the dame o' Salisbury town.*

IX.

William Steel's brother, Ephraim, settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, some time shortly prior to 1769; and resided there for about forty-five years. He was a man of means and prominence in his community and his section. He enjoyed an extended political acquaintance, and persons in high authority consulted him on State and National affairs. Through his habit of preserving letters have come down to us today letters of Elizabeth Maxwell Steel, ranging over the period from 1778 to 1786. These letters, copies of which accompany the present monograph, are now in the possession of Misses Margaret A. and Martha J. Steele, of Carlisle, Pennsylvania, granddaughters of Ephraim Steel. For the copies and the photographic facsimile accompanying the present monograph, the writer is indebted to the courtesy of the Misses Steele, to Hon. John Steele Henderson, of Salisbury, N. C., who discovered the existence of the

* For copies of this poem, I am indebted to the kindness of Mrs. B. B. Taylor, of Macon, Ga., and Mrs. Clark Waring, of Columbia, S. C.

letters, and to Mr. J. Zeamer, the antiquarian, who prepared the elaborate sketch of the Steele family, in the volume entitled *Biographical Annals of Cumberland County, Pennsylvania* (Genealogical Publishing Co., Chicago, 1905).

In one of her letters Mrs. Steel says: "You know I am a great politician." Indeed, these letters few in number though they be, contain most pertinent comments on contemporaneous events of vital interest during the most moving period in our Revolutionary history. For the most part, as was to be expected, they deal with family affairs, incidentally clearing up matters in which historians have either blundered or revealed ignorance. They show Mrs. Steel to have been a woman of deep piety, sound intelligence, and good judgment, and withal practical and patriotic. It is the hope of the writer that the Misses Steele will present the original letters of Mrs. Steel to the State of North Carolina.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

DEAR BROTHER:

SALISBURY, 15th May, 1778.

Since your departure I have received two letters from you, of March 22 & April 6th and I thank you for them both. Your own feelings may suggest the pleasure, or an idea of the pleasure I enjoy with them at present, for letters are the meeting and talking of absent friends. It gave me great pleasure to hear of your safe arrival and the welfare of your family, especially *Little Billy* who it seems is likely to outgrow his father—surely he will soon be a little giant. I'm sorry to hear of sister Nancy's illness. I hope her disorder will not hold her long. Your kindness in riding so far to see my son calls for thanks both from him and me. I hope he has not been ungrateful, and I now present you my heartfelt thanks on that account. I should be heartily rejoiced to see him quit the army, and betake himself to some business for life.* I present you my

* It appears that Mrs. Steel's son, John Steele, although only fourteen in 1778, had already joined the Continental army. Clearly Mrs. Steel is not referring here to her other son, Robert Gillespie, for in a letter of October 17, 1778, she informs her brother Ephraim that her son Robert has "gone into the army," whereas in the present letter, written five months earlier, she is expressing the wish that her son (obviously not Robert) would "quit the army." It is not mentioned by any biographer of John Steele, nor was it even known until the discovery of these letters, that he had ever served in the Continental army. Subsequent to this date (1778), John Steele studied under the Rev. James Hall at Clio's Nursery, or "The Academy of the Sciences," on Snow Creek. (*Foot's Sketches of North Carolina*, ch. XXXIV, pp. 330 *et seq.*) The copy of Virgil, with numerous signatures of "John Steele," which he used at this famous school, is still preserved.

thanks for the crisis No. 5, it gave me great pleasure by serving to brace our minds, long relaxed by the inaction of the armies thro the winter season. We hope, however, the spring and summer will produce some important event and pray you to pass no opportunity of giving us the news. My family, through the kindness of Providence, is well. My kindest regards to *sister Nancy* and all friends and be always assured that I am and shall continue

Your loving and affectionate sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO "MY SON" (PRESUMABLY JOHN STEELE).

SALISBURY, 7th July, 1778.

MY DEAR SON:

It is now a long time since I have had a letter from you, the cause I know not, but I can assure you that I have wrote two or three times since I received any account from you. Pray write me by the first opportunity.

Since you have chosen that manner of life, it would give me the greatest pleasure to hear of your acquitting yourself with honor and faithfulness to your country and yourself, and to hear of the contrary would give me much uneasiness.

I hope that you will not forget to apply to that power and wisdom which can enable and direct us to discharge the duties of every station. Many are the advices of this kind I have given you. I must take every opportunity to repeat them. Pray let them not be in vain. I should be glad to hear from you. Write me by the first opportunity. Friends here all are well. I am

Your affectionate mother, ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, July 30, 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

Yours of June 26th I have received not long since. My son is not yet come home, but I have heard that he is on the way, in company with Capt. Cootes, who left him I suppose with you.

Mr. Beard, I believe, returned thro Yorktown and arrived some time ago in company with Mrs. Beard, which has changed her citizenship—Salisbury for Lancaster.* I am very sorry to hear of *brother Thomas' misfortune* and should be glad to be informed about the issue of his affair. I suppose it will reduce him to great difficulty and loss if he be forced to *serve out his enlistment*. However

* The "Mr. Beard" here mentioned is doubtless Valentine Beard, a continental soldier in the Revolution, who fought under Washington, notably at the battles of the Brandywine and Germantown. He married a Miss Margaret Marquedant.

for his sake, if obliged to serve for my own and my country's sake, I hope the war will not long continue. Providence seems to be directing it to a final issue, at least on the continent, tho' perhaps the British government may not acknowledge our Independence till the end of the present war with France, which their political phrenzy may continue for two or three years to come till they be reduced to the last extremity. Please to give us the fate of New York. We hear it is to be attacked by the French fleet and American army, and we should be glad to have a more distinct account of the affair of the 28th. My little family is well. No remarkable alteration lately. I hope soon to sustain the very respectable and important character of GRANDMOTHER.

I am your affectionate

Sister

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.*

SALISBURY, 15th Aug., 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

Inclosed you will find some letters which lately came to hand; I wrote you a few days ago. Nothing more since, only that I have got a little grand-Daughter, this morning about 3 o'clock. Mother and child well for the time.

All well.

Your sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, Oct. 17, 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

Tho I have wrote since I have received any letters from you, yet I take this opportunity to inform you that I am well with the rest of my little family, without any other alterations in it than those you have heard, unless it be that my son *Robert has gone into the army*,† and I have heard designed to be enrolled with *Major Davi-*

* For its clearness of delineation and its brevity, this letter, in photographic facsimile, is reproduced in the present monograph.

† Robert Gillespie was an efficient and daring soldier. Col. Alexander Martin, writing from Salisbury to Gov. Thomas Burke, August 10, 1781, says: "Inclosed your Excellency hath the Resignation of Captain James Sheppard's Commission in the State Regiment, in favor of Mr. Robert Gillespie of this Place, who was formerly a Continental Lieutenant, and serving with reputation——." (*Col. Rec.* XXII; 555, 558.) Says Rumble, "He was of a peculiarly bold and defiant spirit, and when the British entered Salisbury, he rode in sight of them in a menacing manner. As he had but one companion, 'Blind Daniel,' so called from having lost one eye, a kind of hanger-on in Salisbury, of course he did not remain to carry out his menaces." (*Rowan County.*) He received his commission as Captain of State Militia, and he and his company were subsequently paid £2157-8-8 by the State for their services in defence of their country. (Report of Auditor of Salisbury District, *Col. Rec.*, XXII, 1014.)

July 29th Aug. 1888

Dear Brothers

I enclose you will find some letters which I
by came to hand, I write you a few days ago & I am sure
only that I have got a little grand-daughter, this morning about 8 o'clock
mother and child well for the time. All well.

Yours sister

Eliza Steel.



son in Carlisle. If he has been with you I desire you to inform me, as I have not heard from him, since he left Halifax on the borders of Virginia.

His conduct in entering into the service has given me no small uneasiness; not that I disapprove the cause of liberty, but I thought him too young to launch out into the world. But I must resign him up to the conduct of Providence and endeavor myself to be resigned to the matter.

I have lately received a letter from *brother Joseph* which informs me of *his wife's death*, but for your satisfaction I'll send you his letter inclosed, especially as I am at a loss to guess his designs in leaving that state, or the continent, unless he be so unhappy as to disapprove our public measures. Give my compliments to *brother Thomas*, and please to inform me where he resides, that my future letters may find him. If you desire to write to *brother Joseph*, write immediately and I will forward your letter.

I am yours, etc.,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, 19th Oct., 1779.

DEAR BROTHER:

I embrace the present opportunity to make you some return for your favor by the bearer, Mr. May. Your letters arrived before Mr. McCorkle, who was detained longer than his own or our expectation but arrived safe about the middle of September. I was very sorry to hear of the death of your *worthy minister Mr. Steele*.* His death is much to be lamented, especially at this time when the number of clergymen is small and smaller still the prospect of others succeeding. You must however attempt, and I pray you may succeed in the obtaining another.

My little family is all with me, and well. Robert returned in the spring from his northern tour. The last accounts from Savannah mention that on the 9th instant a general attack was made on the enemy's lines in which we were repulsed with the loss of 150 killed and wounded. Verbal accounts also mention an express from the Spanish West India fleet, to (?) the French from our coasts to join them. Also the retreat of our army to Lewisburg. My little grand daughter walks and runs and dances and sings and talks—Hebrew for aught I know. Mr. and Mrs. McCorkle's compliments to you and Mr. Heap.

I am your loving and affectionate sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

* No relative, so far as known, of Ephraim Steel.

P. S. Oct. 25.—We hear that the French fleet are only gone out to (?) with design to take the New York reinforcement, and that their army and ours still invest the British at Savannah.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, 29th April, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER:

I desire you to believe that all my letters are the efforts of friendship and affection, for you can't suppose them to be letters of business, as I have no occasion to write on those subjects. The happiness of all my friends is what I most sincerely desire, and therefore wish to hear frequently from you. I am sorry that I can't (knowing you to be a good Whig) make you happy with some good news from Charleston. I can only inform you that there have been several skirmishes before Charleston with various success. That the shipping has passed Fort Moultrie with considerable loss, and that we every day expect to hear of a general storm on, or the continued blockade of Charleston, 6 or 7 thousand we conjecture on each side. Charleston is nearly invested on all sides, and what will be the event time must determine.*

My little family are in their usual health. Little *Nancy M.* grows apace, and begins to chatter. Mr. and Mrs. McCorkle join in sending compliments to yourself and Master Billy and be assured that I am with great respect, Dear Brother,

Yours affectionately,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, July 13th, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER:

This will inform you that my little family are well but suffering with others the calamity of the times. You have had your time and now comes ours. We have been surrounded by Tory Insurrections, one party in the Forks of Catawba have been defeated with considerable loss.† Another from the forks of the Yadkin have been pursued but not overtaken. At present the state is uninvasion, but about five hundred are at the Waxaws.‡ The Tories are flocking in. South Carolina and Georgia are in the Enemies' hands. Our

* Charleston capitulated on May 12, 1780.

† Battle of Ramseur's Mill, June 20, 1780.

‡ Following the Battle of Ramseur's Mill, General Rutherford despatched Davie with his cavalry to Waxhaw Creek to watch the British, while he himself set off immediately in pursuit of Col. Bryan, who had succeeded in embodying a considerable force of Tories in the forks of the Yadkin, at the north end of Rowan, near Surry. By rapid marches, Bryan ultimately succeeded in escaping Rutherford, and in effecting a junction with a British force under Major McArthur.

army is advancing near Cheraw and I hope before this year be done the British and Tories will all be cooped up in Charleston. Pray give us the news with a paper or two from the North. My compliments to sister Nancy, Mr. Heap and family and all friends, Mr. Billy by name.

I am your affectionate sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

DEAR BROTHER:

SALISBURY, Oct. 25, 1780.

With the utmost satisfaction I can acquaint you with the sudden and favorable turn of our public affairs.* A few days ago destruction hung over our heads. Cornwallis with at least 1500 British and Tories waited at Charlotte for the reinforcement of 1000 from Broad River, which reinforcement has been entirely cut off, 130 killed and the remainder captured.

Cornwallis immediately retreated, and is now on his way toward Charleston, with a part of our army in his rear, commanded by General Smalwood. The remainder are expected soon to march from Hillsborough under the command of Gen. Gates.

I should thank you for a line. It is a long time since I received one. Please to give us the northern intelligence. You know I am a great politician. Compliments to *sister Nancy and children*, Mister Heap and family, and Master Billy and be assured that I am with great respect, Dear Brother,

Yours,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

DEAR BROTHER:

SALISBURY, 19th April, 1781.

Your obliging letter by Mr. Beard has come to hand. I most sincerely congratulate you on your matrimonial connections. May your lives be long and happy. I beg you to mention me most affectionately to Mrs. Steel, tho' unacquainted with her person or family. Please to mention me also to Master Billy.

In Feb. last the British were so kind as to pay us a visit, at a time when my little family were ill with the small pox, in which my little youngest granddaughter died, the rest have all happily recovered.†

*"The sudden and favorable turn of affairs" was created by the engagement here spoken of, which is none other than the famous Battle of King's Mountain, fought on October 7, 1780. Of Ferguson's force, 300 were killed or wounded; 100 regulars and 700 Loyalists were captured. The loss of the American "mountain men" was slight. The report of the victory was hailed as "great and glorious news." (General Gates to Thomas Jefferson, Gov. of Virginia.)

† For a full account of Cornwallis's stay in Salisbury, lasting from Saturday, February 3d, to the following Monday night or Tuesday morning, cf. Rumble's *Rowan County*, ch. XVIII.

I was plundered of all my horses, dry cattle, horse forage, liquors and family provisions, and thought I escaped well with my house furniture and milch cattle. Some in this country were stripped of all these things.

It comforts me to think that the enemy will probably never return. His Lordship soon after the 15th of March* moved to Wilmington, and Gen. Greene, by a masterly stroke, has turned rapidly towards Camden in his rear which I hope will fall into his hands before Cornwallis can reinforce the place. At least it will take the war out of this state, and leave his Lordship not one step further than before Gates' defeat.†

Please to remember me in the most affectionate manner to sister Nancy. I have never been able to hear from our brother since the fall of Charleston, nor have I any way of writing to him—. I am with great respect your affectionate sister,

ELIZ. STEEL.

ELIZABETH STEEL TO EPHRAIM STEEL.

SALISBURY, March 17, 1786.

DEAR BROTHER:

I was very happy to receive a long letter from you, and especially as it gave me an account of your own, and the happiness of your little family. If an opportunity had immediately offered I could have wrote you the happiness of mine. About the date of your letter my children were all alive and all married. My son John living with me and practising merchandise. He is still living—has a little daughter Nancy—and is doing well. You have heard I suppose of his marriage, in Cross Creek, to a Miss Dolly Nessfield, daughter-in-law to a Mr. Cochran Merchant there.‡

But Robin, O my poor Robin! He is no more. He was married to a very worthy lady near Georgetown in So. Carolina, in the beginning of July, and died there in the latter end of September. He was taken with a putrid fever and died in a few days illness. You can hardly conceive of my distress. It was aggravated by the expectation of seeing him and his wife at the very time when came the dreadful news of his death. However, it was a little lessening of my grief to hear that he had altered the manner of his life, and had sometime before his death become serious and thoughtful. So that I have the comforting hope of meeting with him where friends shall never part.§

* The date of the Battle of Guilford Court House.

† Battle of Camden, August 16, 1780.

‡ John Steele was married to Mary Nesfield on February 9, 1783.

§ Both Wheeler and Rumble fall into the comprehensible error of stating that Robert Gillespie, here affectionately termed "Robin" by his sorrowing mother, died unmarried.

Mr. McCorkle and family are well. They have 3 children living, a son and two daughters, the eldest of which is mostly with me at the English school in town. I have no late accounts from brother Joseph, since the fall of Charleston, and can not tell whether he be living or dead, tho' I have made all the inquiry I could. Remember me most affectionately to your good lady—Master Billy—and Miss Dolly—give her on my account half a dozen kisses, tell all your and my friends that they are dear to me, and be assured that I am with greatest affection

Your sister

ELIZ. STEEL.

X.

There can be no more fitting close to a monograph on Elizabeth Maxwell Steel than the obituary notice, inserted at the request of her son-in-law, Dr. Samuel Eusebius McCorkle, in the *North Carolina Chronicle*, or *Fayetteville Gazette*, January 3, 1791.

"Died, on Monday the 22nd of November, in Salisbury, of a lingering and painful illness, Mrs. Elizabeth Steele, relict of Mr. William Steele,—mother of the hon. John Steele, and Margaret MacCorkle, wife of the reverend Samuel MacCorkle.

"Her name and character are well known, but best by her most intimate friends. She was a devout worshipper of God; *she was distinguished during the war as a friend to her country*; twice supported with dignity the character of wife and widow—she was a most tender and affectionate parent, an obliging neighbor, frugal, industrious, and charitable to the poor.

"Her character will be better understood by the following letter, found among her choice papers since her death, than by anything that can be said of her. The letter is believed and appears to be her own diction, and is published exactly as it was found. It may be a useful lesson to all parents, and to all children, as well as her own. It bears the date February 5, 1783, when her other son Robert Gillespie was living and begins thus:

MY DEAR CHILDREN:—

If I die before any of you, I wish that this letter may fall into your hands after I am dead and gone, that you may see how much affection I have for you, and, that what I have often said when alive may be remembered by you when I am in eternity.

If the Almighty would suffer me to return to talk to you,

I think now I would take a pleasure to do it every day; if this can not be allowed me, I think it would be some satisfaction to see you, especially when you are reading this letter which I leave you as a legacy, to see what effect it will have on you, and whether it will make you think of what I have often told you.

I have many a time told you to remember your Maker, and ask him to guide you: it is a good old saying, "they are well guided whom He guides, and He leaves them that don't ask Him, to their own ways." I want you to keep out of bad company—it has ruined many young people. I want you to keep company with sober good people, and to learn their ways,—to keep the sabbath—to be charitable to the poor—to be industrious and frugal—just to all men, and above all to love one another.

Believe me, my children, if anything could disturb me in the grave, it would be to know that you did not live as a brother and sister ought to live: nothing could be worse except that you would not all follow me to heaven. Oh, my dear children, I have had a great deal of trouble and sorrow in raising you! If I should feel after death as I do now, I could never endure to see any of you without an interest in Jesus at the great day, and forced away, never more to meet again. Parting here with your parents you know had almost taken my life, when I had hope to see them again; but I am now sure I could not live to see any of you cursed by your Maker, and driven away to dwell forever with the Devil and his angels.

While I lived, you know that it was my great desire to have you all around me and near me here; but my great desire has been to have you in the world to come. Believe me, nothing could make me so happy as to have my three dear children there;—yes, and your children, and all your connections. I would wish to take you all to heaven. Then, think of the vanity of this world—think of Jesus, the Saviour,—death,—judgment,—and eternity; and don't forget the living and dying desire of your most affectionate mother till death and after death,

ELIZABETH STEEL.

"Folded in the foregoing letter was also found, in her own handwriting, the following prayer, which must please every pious mind:

O Lord, my God, thou great Three-One! I give myself to thee this day, to be thine, to be guided by thee and not by another; and I desire to take God for my God, Jesus Christ to be my Saviour, the Holy Ghost to be my sanctifier and

leader. Lord, thou has promised that all that will come unto thee thou wilt in no wise cast out. All I beg in the name and for the sake of Jesus Christ, my Lord.

To this I set my hand,

ELIZABETH STEEL.

"The date of the above was either not affixed or torn away from the paper.

"It can not be disagreeable to the serious mind to add that she was remarkably fond of the following hymn, and left it in her Bible, where it was found since her death, in the handwriting of her granddaughter, who had transcribed it for her:

The hour of my departure's come,
I hear a voice that calls me home;
At last, O Lord, let trouble cease,
And let thy servant die in peace.

The race appointed I have run,
The combat o'er, the prize is won,
And now my witness is on high,
And now my record's in the sky.

Not in mine innocence I trust,
I bow before thee in the dust,
And thro' my Saviour's blood alone,
I look for mercy at thy throne.

I leave the world without a tear,
Save for the friends I hold so dear;
To heal their sorrows, Lord, descend,
And to the friendless prove a friend.

I come! I come! at thy command,
I give my spirit to thy hand;
Stretch forth thine everlasting arms
And shield me in the last alarms.

"It would be a severe and ill-natured reflection on the religious taste of the present age to be making apologies for publishing the above memoirs, and therefore no apology is made. It is a debt due to an amiable character, and may not be without its 'use to the public."

PALMYRA IN THE HAPPY VALLEY

By MRS. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

"Read the rede of this old roof tree;
Here be trust fast; opinion free;
Knightly right hand; Christian knee;
Truth in all things; wit in some;
Laughter open, slander dumb.

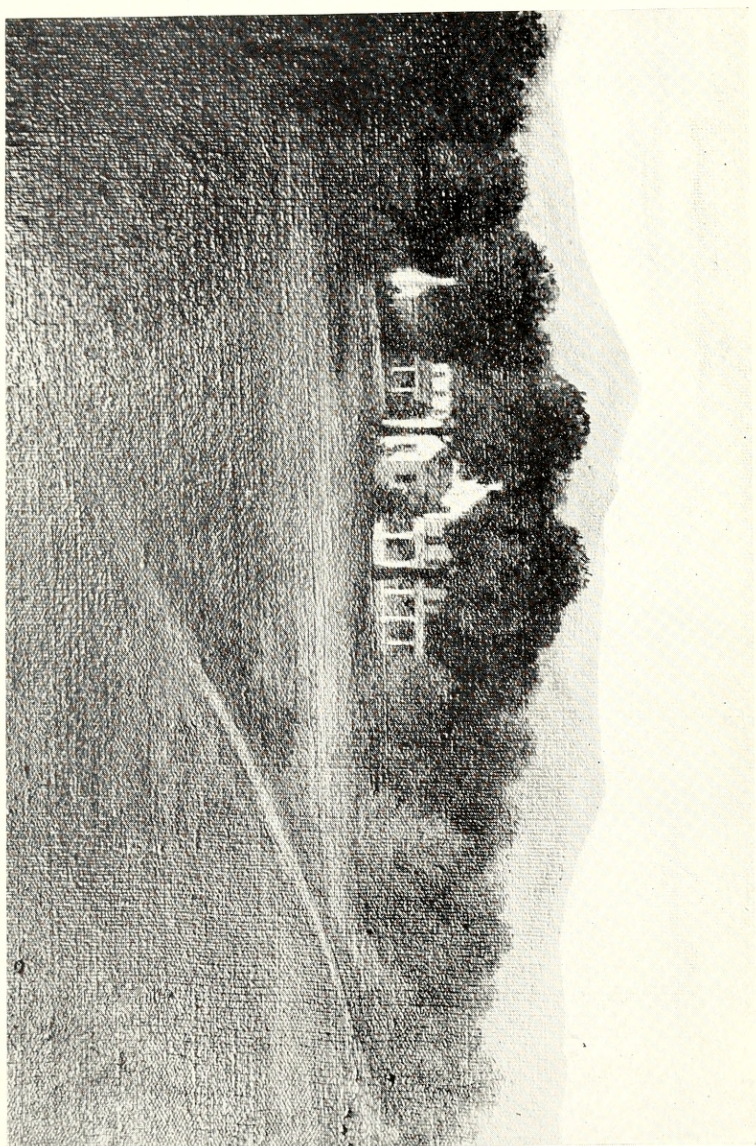
* * * * *

Read the rede of this old roof tree."

These fragmentary lines are all that can now be recalled of an inscription in the hall of an English manor house belonging (I think) to Lord Lytton. We fortunate ones who knew Palmyra feel that it would have been equally appropriate for the old home with the four front doors that for a century were open to greet generation after generation, not only of kith and kin, but the stranger within the gates, doubly welcome were he penniless and friendless. Through those doors entered the sick to be nursed back to health; the weary and discouraged to be cheered and strengthened; the brides to be welcomed into the family; the babies to be properly admired; the aged to renew their youth; the young to frolic; and when the end came, out of them passed the blessed dead, to be tenderly carried to the little memorial Chapel of Rest at the top of the hill, for their long sleep in that quiet God's acre where the members of the family lie. Such was Palmyra in the Happy Valley, with the Yadkin River flowing through the meadows and the mountains round about her even as the Lord was round about Jerusalem.

* * *

No regular plan seems to have been adhered to in building the house. Dark passages and unexpected stairways led nowhere in particular; there were cubby holes and a secret



Palmyra in the Happy Valley.

closet, not with the traditional family skeleton, but an equally traditional and far more cheerful cask of old peach brandy hidden during war times and never since discovered by any amateur Christopher Columbus, though the search never flagged and the searchers never grew weary.

In the great square parlor were the twin tables with overhanging mirrors; the stiff old family portraits and stiffer old mahogany furniture looking as if all had been in the same place, as they probably had, save for sweeping and dusting, for well nigh a century, for it was one of the unwritten laws of Palmyra that nothing was ever to be changed. In the parlor, too, was the curious built-in bookcase filled with absorbingly interesting old volumes, the most interesting ones, of course, being on the top shelf that just could be reached by placing a footstool on top of a chair and then standing on tiptoe; and the number of times I have risked my valuable neck rummaging through those books, and the number of shirt waists I have ruined, ripping out the arm seams, while stretching for the volumes in the back corner, are both simply past count. But the hours of pure joy that have been mine while reading those books, and the amount of delightful misinformation on every known subject that I've acquired, will cheer me on a weary pilgrimage through this vale of tears. There in an old medical book of 1688 I found the formulas for the "vulnerary potion" with which Rebecca dosed Ivanhoe when he was wounded.

A number are given, but probably the most efficacious was this one: "Compound of the roots of alcohol, dittany, cinquefoil, gentian, orrice, solomon's seal, valerian, the leaves of agrimony, bramble tops, plantain, red cabbage, daisies, golden rod, hart's tongue, herb trinity, sage, saxifrage, tansy, the flowers of clover, jilly flowers, lily, rose. To these add cloves, mace, mummy, cinnamon, lentisk wood, sassafras, river crabs, spermaceti, viper's flesh, prepared steel, vitriol of mars and

crabs eyes levigated. Add red wine, boil, strain, and dulcify with white sugar."

One is now ready to believe any and all the statements of Sir Walter as to the instantaneous and startling effect of this vulnerary potion on the "Disinherited Knight."

There were the precious books of etiquette; sermons printed if not practiced, by Benjamin Franklin; ancient histories and novels and grammars and books of travel. On the second shelf was Jedediah, More's delightful "Geography of the Known World" when the Mississippi River was the boundary between Louisiana, New Spain and California on the West, and the United States on the East; when trappers and hunters, making the perilous trip down the Ohio, left civilization at Fort Pitt, passing no great states to the north of them, not even named lands, but "7 Ranges" "Army Lands" "Donation Grants from Virginia," "Ohio Company," "General Clarke's Grant, 150,000 acres," "Wabash Company," "Army Lands," etc. North Carolina reached from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi with the "country of Frankland" (not "Franklin" as it is called now) in the center. The Blue Ridge was then the great "Laurel Ridge." In North Carolina, Salisbury, the Moravian Settlement, Tarborough, New Bern, Bath, Guilford, Fayetteville, Hillsburg, and Edenton, are the only towns with the exception of Nashville and the "Cumberland Settlement." The news items are intensely interesting. "The River Yadkin where it passes Salisbury is almost 400 yards broad and then narrows to the width of 80 or 100 feet. In this narrow part in the Spring of the year, shad are caught by hoop nets in the eddies as fast as the strongest men are able to throw them out. Perhaps there is not in the United States a more eligible situation for a large manufacturing town. The late war put a stop to the iron works though there is one each in Guilford, Surry, Wilkes—all on the Yadkin—and one in Lincoln." * * *

"The Moravians have several flourishing settlements in this State. These people, by their industry and attention to various manufactories, are very useful to the country around there. The inhabitants of Wilmington, Edenton, New Bern, and Halifax districts once professed themselves of the Episcopal Church, but the Clergy, at the commencement of the late war, having declared themselves in favor of Great Britain, had to emigrate. The inhabitants of the above mentioned districts seem now to be making the experiment whether Christianity can exist in a country where there is no visible church. Temperance and industry are not to be reckoned among the virtues of North Carolinians. The time they waste in drinking and gambling, cock fighting and horse racing, leaves them very little opportunity to improve their plantations or their minds. The general topic of conversation among the men, when cards, the bottle, and occurrences of the day do not intervene, are negroes, the prices of indigo, rice, tobacco, etc. They appear to have little taste for the sciences."

On these shelves, too, were the account books with names of the slaves and the clothes issued to them semi-annually; herb remedies for various diseases of man and beast; especially for wounds of which there seem to be a never-ending variety; there also the files of Blum's Almanac beginning with the very first one; catalogues, beginning with 1830 of the faculty and students of the University and numberless pamphlets containing the addresses to the student body by William Hooper, Walker Anderson, Dr. John Hill, Hugh McQueen, Robert Strange, William Gaston, William Mercer Green, George E. Badger and countless others, ending curiously enough, in 1860 with the baccalaureate sermon in Gerrard Hall by the Most Rev. Archbishop Hughes of New York on "The Christian Law of Charity" which, patience

knows, just about that time, was rather celebrated by its breach than its observance.

Of much earlier date if having none of the homely charm of familiarity, were the political pamphlets. "The Political Jesuitism of James Madison, President of the United States, by an observant citizen of the District of Columbia 1812." "Speech of the Hon. John Marshall delivered in the House of Representatives on the Resolutions of the Hon. Edward Livingston, printed at the office of the True American, 1800." "Letters from an Irish Emigrant, 1798," "First Principles of Government, delivered at the Tribune of the French Convention, July 7, 1795" by Thomas Paine, author of the "Rights of Man" "Common Sense" etc., etc., "Causes of the Present War with France, by Hon. Thomas Eshill," "Messages of the Presidents of the United States," "Reports of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color, 1833," yearly reports of National affairs from Senators at Washington, sermons innumerable, files of old newspapers, English Classics of that day, European Magazines, Dublin Review, Histories, sacred and profane. The variety and extent is astonishing when one considers what transportation facilities were during the early years of 1800. Certainly people who read then must have read more and better books than in this good year of grace.

* * *

At the end of the porch, way off from the rest of the house was the blessed "East Room" with its big four-poster bed where Macbeth himself could have slept, and so far forgotten the deep damnation of Duncan's taking off, that by morning he too would have been ready to join in the search for that elusive cask of old peach. Can't you shut your eyes now and see Mary making the fire and hear the flames crackle in the big fireplace, while she told you in that pleasant voice of hers, all the Palmyra news, and you wondered how long it

would be possible to stay cuddled up in the soft featherbed and still not be late for that hickory smoked broiled ham; at least not later than the master of the household who was sure to be late enough to save the face of the most sleepy-headed visitor?

In the dining room with its big mahogany sideboard and side tables, was a young room of a china closet, with demi-johns of homemade apple vinegar, grape wine, blackberry cordial, and cherry bounce, while the top shelf held the quaint silver tea set, the old cut glass goblets and decanters and wine glasses, and the lower shelves, the gold band china set, the remnants of the still older plain white ones and the odds and ends of china and glass that had accumulated during all the years; and just outside the dining room was the closet with jars of brandy peaches and spiced pears and watermelon pickles, and jelly and preserves and canned fruits and vegetables, beyond count. And there was the upstairs back bed room, with another young room of a closet where the quilts and coverlets were kept. Was there ever such an assortment of handmade bed coverings, embroidered and pieced and appliqued and tufted and woven and knitted? Surely the women of Palmyra had for a pattern the wise woman of Proverbs who looked well to the ways of her household and ate not the bread of idleness, who laid her hands to the spindle, and whose hands held the distaff. Certainly they stretched forth their hands to the poor and needy and in their tongues was the law of kindness.

And don't you remember the great circular driveway bordered with blooming things from early spring until frost; and the garden—almost a farm in itself—with five rows of beans and a row of china asters; five rows of peas and a bed of roses, beets and zinnias, tomatoes and marigolds, potatoes and nasturtiums, corn and petunias, balsams and okra, and right by the gate the clump of lemon verbena?

I who spent so many happy days among the flowers can bring in return only this little sprig of rosemary for remembrance.

And there never was such a treasure trove as the attic, the final resting place of everything and anything that outlived its usefulness below stairs. Nothing at Palmyra was destroyed. Broken down mahogany tables and rickety chairs, candle moulds, spinning wheels and cradles were sent to the attic; while chests, hair trunks and barrels were packed with letters, deeds and papers, samplers, bonnets, laces, pin-cushions, wedding dresses, embroidery, fans, daguerreotypes, slippers, baby clothes, scent bottles, homespuns, quilts, carpet rags, yarns, cottons, the flotsam and jetsam of the long house-keeping years.

* * *

The inevitable changes of death have brought the letters and papers to the attic at Bramlette, where they fill boxes and boxes, so reading them is an interminable job, albeit a most fascinating one, beginning as they do about 1799, and running continuously down to 1908. The family connection was very large, scattered throughout Virginia, the Carolinas, Alabama, and Tennessee, and men, women, and children, and I am almost tempted to add the babe in its mother's arms, were most voluminous correspondents. The men's letters were largely of business matters, politics, crops, with passing mention of wife and babies. The women wrote of everything: the Indians, baby teething, new clothes, their daughters' beaux, neighboring gossip, parties, camp meetings, husbands and children. Yet throughout the century with new generations taking the place of the old, the ruling characteristics remain the same; an intense family affection, clannishness to the remotest kin by blood, an abounding hospitality, cheerful kindness, and more particularly in the women, a deeply religious strain.



General Edmund Jones, Who Built Palmyra.

The earliest letters are addressed to Colonel Edmund Jones, Fort Defiance, Wilkes County. Later the title rises to the dignity of General and Brigadier General. Fort Defiance, built during the Revolutionary War, was the home of General William Lenoir, and is still owned by his descendants. Roosevelt in "Winning the West" quotes largely from the old hero's account of the battle of King's Mountain, speaking of him as a fine type of French Huguenot. He seems to have been one of the earliest settlers in Happy Valley, and no one knows how much land he "entered" there. Boxes of letters, his sword, wearing apparel and a letter from Washington are still treasured at "The Fort," as it is generally called. His daughter Ann, in 1798, married Edmund Jones, of Orange County, Virginia.

The first mention of Palmyra that I have been able to find is in a letter from Mrs. Israel Pickens (Martha Lenoir) whose husband had moved to Alabama where he became governor. She and Mrs. Edmund Jones were sisters. The letter is from Washington and dated January 10, 1815: "I hope when we return in March to find you comfortably situated in your new home in the midst of your cheerful little family." Letters from various relatives give other details. General Lenoir gave the tract of land on which Palmyra was built to his daughter, Ann, for a wedding gift. The home built by General Jones was a square building of red brick with small porch in front.

I have found but one letter from Mrs. Edmund Jones. It was written to General Jones, and it is easy to read between the lines, that the "heart of her husband safely trusted in her, and her children rose up and called her blessed" as she went about bravely bearing the burdens of that great plantation, his as well as her own, during his many absences in Raleigh as a member of the State Legislature. Then, as a century later, Palmyra was filled with company, evidently

from the way in which they are mentioned, most welcome, but she adds: "The company of my beloved companion would be to me the (most agreeable in all this world." All details are given of business matters on the farm—the slaves, the cattle, the crops, the children, the neighborhood, deaths, births, and marriages. Yet all are forgotten while she closes her letter with: "Should I live to see you again, there will be *one glad* person if no more. Most affectionately yours, Ann Jones."

* * *

Boxes of letters to General Jones from all classes and conditions of men from one end of the State to the other, and on all sorts of subjects, tell of his wide activity and patriotic labors for his State during his almost continuous service in the Legislature from 1798 until 1838. He died in 1844, his wife, a few years earlier. These letters give such a clear picture of the man to whom they were written, as well as of the times and of the writers, many of whose descendants read THE BOOKLET, that some are herewith reproduced.

They begin in 1799 with a notice from James W. Henry, of the War Department, that Mr. Larkin Jones, of Wilkes County, is appointed a Second Lieutenant in the Sixth Regiment of Infantry. Larkin was a younger brother of Edmund. On November 29, 1805, "John Haywood offers his respects to Mr. Jones and requests the favor of his company at dinner on Saturday next." The writing is beautiful with flourishes most carefully made.

John Haywood, of Halifax, was a judge of the Superior Court, in 1794, and author of "Manual of the Laws of North Carolina," "Haywood's Justice," and later, after his removal to that State, a "History of Tennessee." Chief Justice Henderson said of him that he "disparaged neither the living nor the dead when he said that an abler man than

John Haywood never appeared at the bar or sat on the bench of North Carolina."

But styles are changing and Governor Hawkins is sending out very impressive printed invitations encircled by a fancy wreath. He "presents his respects to General Edmund Jones and requests he will do him the pleasure to dine with him on Saturday next, at 2 o'clock. Raleigh 10, December, 1812." Oddly enough, the invitations, instead of having the Raleigh address of General Jones (there as a member of the Legislature) are invariably written, "General Edmund Jones of Wilkes." Of another tenor is the next note. "General Smith presents his respects to Colonel Jones with whom he wishes to have an interview as quickly as possible." There is no date. Evidently General Smith was in too big a hurry to bother with dates, but wouldn't you like to know which General Smith, and what the flurry was about? Even the writing after all these years has never quieted down but gives the impression of worry and impatience. Waightstill Avery, whose writing in November, 1805, is none of the best, is one of the strictly few who stick to business and to business only, though he does take time to sign himself "Dear Sir, believe me to be with great respect, your very obedient servant." Robt. W. Williams asks that "that militia bill be called up this morning, December 14, 1805," and writes again on Sept. 1, 1802:

I congratulate you in your election again to become one of the legislators of our State. * * * It has been some time since you thought proper to come into the Legislature. * * * Much alarm has excited the minds of the people relative to the claims and suits brought by Lord Granville to recover all this country. But I take it, Sir, he can never recover. * * *

In case Mr. Blake Baker resigns this office of Attorney General, permit me to inform you, Sir, that I shall be a candidate for that appointment; any assistance which you may think proper to give

me in the business, shall as a favor ever be remembered and gratefully acknowledged by, my dear Sir,

Your friend and well wisher,

ROBT. WILLIAMS.

My respects if you please to Genl. Lenoir.

There were two Robert Williams—both distinguished men—General Robert Williams, of Surry, and Dr. Robert Williams, of Pitt.

The next letter is so beautifully written and with such ornamental flourishes that it deserves to be on parchment. It is dated Surry, 3d November 1807, and is from "Jo. Williams." I fancy it must be Joseph Williams, one of the Surry delegates to the convention at Hillsboro in 1775 and a colonel of the militia during the Revolution.

SIR:—I've observed Mr. Gales has announced the death of Mr. John Hunt, late a clerk to the House of Commons. * * * In Consequence of which my son Williams intends offering his services, and which he would not presume to do had it not been for the death of Mr. Hunt. He is a tolerable good penman and I flatter myself would be adequate to the duties of that appointment. Should you also think so and can find a freedom in giving him your influence, the favor will ever be thankfully acknowledged by him and also by your most obedient

JO. WILLIAMS.

Sept. 12, 1806, a note from S. Erwin. "I do hereby signify to you my resignation of the commission of Captain of the Horse for Burke County and request you to accept the same." In 1807 William Norwood, of Hillsborough, after giving all the family news, asks General Jones when he next comes to Raleigh to bring him two bushels of the "new kind of grass called Egyptian oats."

The Hon. Jesse Franklin, of Surry, U. S. Senator from 1807-1813 and governor in 1820, writes under date of 28th December 1812:

I am happy that the Legislature has put off the election for members of the Thirteenth Congress until August next leaving a Democratic House with the Governor. * * * With, respects to my

successor, I hope he will turn out well. He is a man of talents. * * * You have no doubt seen in the Public Prints the disastrous Issue of the several attempts upon Canada. The papers contain all the information in our possession upon the subject. The last affair under General Smythe seems to have let him down in the eyes of his best friends. However when we consider the total want of discipline and the spirit of insubordination that exists among such hosts of the militia suddenly brought together, disaster in the execution of their plans of operation is not be wondered at. Upon the water we have been more successful. Our Navy has, whenever they have come in contact with the British upon anything like equal terms proved victorious. Congress have passed a law for building four shipes of 74 gunes each and six frigates of 44 guns each. * * * You will have seen that the pay of non commissioned officers and privates has been raised by a law of this session; privates to 8 dollars and the other about in the same proportion. * * * I shall be Happy to hear from you at any time, when time and opportunity may serve your convenience.

Your obt. Servant, J. FRANKLIN.

Quite a different point of view is given in the next letter from the seat of war. It is written from

CAMP NEAR BUFFALO, NIAGARA RIVER.

RIGHT WING NORTHERN ARMY,

20th Nov., 1814.

DEAR SIR:

You will excuse my not writing to you, as I had nothing interesting to communicate relative to the division of the army to which I am attached. In August last and some time previous the right wing or first division of the Northern army was stationed at Chazy and Champlain—near the line of Debarcation, and within six miles of the enemies' headquarter—the two armies continued in that situation or position several weeks, without fighting except Piquet fighting and shooting sentinels on post—a barbarous and unjustifiable mode of warfare—but the enemy commenced it (not us). Forsyth's brave rifle corps at length broke up the enemies inhuman traffic. * * *

On the 29th the army took up its line of march from Champlain for Buffalo, (sic) hundred miles to the west—and on the 12th Oct. the army arrived at Black Rock, having marched over mountains, through deserts, and swamps where the D—l himself would do well not to enter. On the 13th the army crossed the Niagara and pitched their tents on his majesty's soil, made immediate prepara-

tions to move down the Niagara meet the enemy and beat him. On the 14th the army was organized in the following order. 1st General Smith's Brigade composed of the 4th, 10th, 12th and seventeenth regiments to move in column of (?) preceded by four pieces light artillery, one mortar—2 companies or troops cavalry flanked by six light companies and one rifle battalion, next in order, Genl. Bissel's Brigade advanced in rear in column or regts. flanked by six companies light troops one compr. Cavalry with the heavy artillery and one battalion ———. Genl. Brown's division, the brave heroes of Chippewa Bridgewater and Port Erie advanced one mile in rear, in order of battle, then in order the American army moved down the Niagara to Chippewa plains. On the 14th at 4 o'clock p. m. Smith's Brigade approached the enemy's advanced post, or advanced guard, they gave us a distant fire and retired from their works. On the 15th the army arrived on Chippewa plains, and discovered the enemy formed in order of battle, his left resting on the Niagara, and his right extending across the plains—our columns advanced until they gained an advantageous position, deployed and formed the line with the utmost coolness and anxiety for battle, the right of east brigade resting on the Niagara and the left extending across the plain—the brave Capt. Towson and ——— recd. orders to commence the action by advancing with 4 pieces artillery and one mortar; the enemy opened a fire from his whole line, but a well directed fire from our piece—our left troop and riflemen gaining his right flank and commencing a sharp fire, together with a number of shells bursting about their ears, caused the enemy to retreat to his works across the Chippewa. They fled a second time, the boasted Wellington troops, now commanded by Lieut. Genl. Drummond the Earl of Tweedsdale and Genl. Brigham, said to be six or eight thousand strong exclusive of Boltigeurs and Canadian militia. On the 15th our army advanced within six hundred yards of the enemy's batteries on the Chippewa. The right of each division resting on the Niagara and the left extended up the Chippewa river. The appearance of the American line was grand. An army of ten or twelve thousand well organized troops, arranged in order of battle at 1 o'clock P. M. The whole of our artillery and mortars were ordered to advance within three hundred yards of the enemy's batteries on the open plain. The enemy commenced a fire from 5 batteries and immediately after our 18 prs. began to roar which caused a number of his majesty's fugitive banditties to retreat from behind their works but not before several shells bursted among them. At 2 P. M. two of the enemy's batteries were silenced and one piece dismounted. Dr. Sir, Never before did I feel such anxiety for battle—the delightful roar of the American

artillery, the tremendous roar of the Niagara falls in full view, together with viewing the immense and increasing spray ascending from the falls, conspired to enliven the imagination and render the scene sublime. At 3 their batteries were silenced, the roar of our pieces ceased not—at 4 he recommenced a fire from one of his batteries but was soon silenced. We had but four killed and a few wounded, most of his shot passed over us.

Give my best respects to Genl. Wm. Lenoir. I reverence the names of the patriots of 76. I love them wherever they are. Whilst I continue to have an existence the names of those that fought for my freedom and delivered their country from tyranny and oppression shall be dear to me. I subscribe myself yours with the highest consideration of respect and esteem.

A. E. MCKINZIE,
Lieut. 10th Infty.

The last word is said by Hon. Meshack Franklin, a member of Congress from Surry, 1807-15, who writes from Washington, January 6th, 1814:

This day a message from the President was laid before Congress communicating the dispatch brought by flag of truce from the British government. Its contents are a proposition to open negotiations for a peace, Distinct from the Russian Mediations, to be negotiated at either Gothenburg in Sweden or at London. The proposition has been accepted on the part of this government and Gothenburg will be the place where the agents of the respective governments meet for the transaction of their business. We hope that it may lead to an honorable peace. With what sincerity, this proposition has been made, it is impossible to say, but if peace be the object, there is not doubt of a speedy arrangement of all the points in controversy, but whether it be serious or ——— no reduction ought to be made in the necessary preparations for the prosecution of the war.

Respectfully, your Obt. Servt.,

M. FRANKLIN.

Hon. Lewis Williams, "Father of the House" for many years, gives voluminous details of the year's work in Washington.

In the annual message of the President, we were informed that the balance in the treasury on the 1st of January, 1828, was upwards of five millions of dollars;

The defensive establishments of the country, appear to be on a very respectable footing. The army consists of about six thousand men including officers, non-commissioned officers, musicians and privates. It is said to be organized according to the best plan, and is divided into seven regiments of infantry, and four regiments of artillery, distributed through the country at such points as will be most likely to render them serviceable. The aggregate militia force of the United States, including officers and men, is one million one hundred and sixty-eight thousand four hundred and nineteen.

The navy consists of seven ships of the line carrying seventy-four guns each, seven frigates of the first class, and four of the second class, sixteen sloops of war, and seven schooners. In addition to which, there are now building at different places in the United States, five ships of the line and six frigates. When these shall have been completed, our navy will be quite formidable for all the purposes of defence, that being the only object for which it should be maintained. For no one ever imagined the navy ought to be so large, as to stimulate us to engage in foreign wars, or to commit aggressions upon the rights of others.

In the year of 1792 there were 195 post offices, a revenue of \$67,444, and 5,642 miles of post roads. In 1828 the number of post offices was 7,651, the amount of revenue \$1,598,134, and 114,536 miles of post roads. It will be perceived that the increase in this establishment has been very great; but I would be willing to see it further extended, 'till every neighborhood, nay almost every citizen should be accommodated with a post office at his door, if he should think proper to have it so.

It has been again proposed to establish a post, and form a settlement at the mouth of Columbia river, on the Pacific Ocean. In my former communications to you, I have frequently had occasion, to notice this measure, and to state my objections to it. It seems to me impolitic to plant a colony at so great a distance from the settlements on the Atlantic and Mississippi. The people who might inhabit that region could never have a community of interest and feeling with us who live on this side of the Rocky Mountains; and the extension of settlements to that quarter would only lead to a dismemberment of the empire, whenever they should be able to protect themselves.

Another territorial government is proposed to be established in the North West, to be called "the government of Huron." The progress made in the creation of states and territories is evidence of the felicitous nature of our political system, and its capacity for extension over a much wider space than is now embraced by it. From thirteen states we have increased to twenty-four, and there



General and Mrs. Samuel Finley Patterson, and Their Son, Rufus Lenoir Patterson.

will be four territories, if the government of Huron should be established. When these are admitted into the union, the number of states will be twenty-eight.

On the 11th of this month the votes for President were counted in presence of both Houses of Congress, and General Andrew Jackson declared to be duly elected President of the United States, for four years from and after the 4th of March next.—Whatever difference of opinion has existed among us in relation to this choice, we all must wish that the administration of General Jackson may be wise and virtuous:—if his measures are good they should be supported, but if bad they ought to be opposed.

As my term of service will expire on the 4th of March, you will be called on at the ensuing election to choose a Representative in the next congress of the United States. Permit me again to offer myself as a candidate for your suffrages, and to say that if elected, I will do the best I can to serve you faithfully and beneficially.

Your friend and fellow citizen,

WASHINGTON, Feb. 18th, 1829.

LEWIS WILLIAMS.

* * *

After the death of General and Mrs. Jones, Palmyra was inherited by Edmund, the youngest and only surviving son, who had married his cousin, Sophia Davenport, and built "Clover Hill." General Jones' Daughter, Mrs. Samuel Patterson (Phœbe Caroline) who then was living in Wilkesboro inherited from her father's estate, lands in Mississippi. Brother and sister were devoted to each other, and in order to live near together, Edmund gave his sister Palmyra, taking in exchange the lands in Mississippi. Others say the place was bought outright by General Patterson because his wife wanted her old home. A letter says: "In 1851-52 General and Mrs. Patterson remodeled and enlarged the old home, adding the East and West wing, the dining room with its pantries, and the large room above with its closets. The large staircase was built in the hall between parlor and dining room, and a small staircase run up for private use from the 'dark room' in the center of the house. These improvements were made in contemplation of the marriage of the eldest son, Rufus, to Marie Louise, 4th daughter of Governor and

Mrs. Morehead. The room over the dining room was built especially for the bed room of the bridal couple."

Family tradition tells a pretty story of the landscape gardening, which was planned on moonlight nights while Samuel and Phœbe Caroline wandered through the grounds with their arms around each other, locating drives and walks and gardens. After her death in the middle sixties, family tradition again comes to tell that he died of a broken heart, after she, his best beloved, was taken.

* * *

Of the charm Palmyra exercised upon all who came within its borders the countless letters bear ample testimony. One dealing especially with the old home as it was during the lifetime of General and Mrs. Patterson is such a perfect pen picture that I cannot do better than give it in its entirety. It is written by the only surviving granddaughter, Mrs. Albert Coble, of Statesville.

"Our history (Mama's children) is especially connected with Palmyra from the fact that we not only as children, spent every summer there, but that after our mother's death, Grandma came for us, and took us all home with her, and gave us the most devoted love and care for three years, until we moved back to Salem, and Louie, you know, always made his home there (I think our parents first moved to Salem in 1855).

"In giving the history of Palmyra, it seems to me that the principal thing to do would be to reproduce, if possible, the *atmosphere* of the place,—that feeling of hominess and happiness and good cheer which filled every one who came within its circle. There was Grandpa with his stately, noble bearing, always dignified, yet always affable; Grandma, gracious to strangers, cordial to friends, and affectionate to all the large circle of relatives. They kept open heart and open house where the young people loved to gather for their pleasure, where all summer long the relatives filled the house, and in the evenings the strains of music floated out upon the lawn, and the waltz was danced within the parlor and upon the long veranda, where often the house servants gathered in groups outside to see the fun. This home became especially during the war, the Mecca for the widow and the orphan. Refugees from the more

Southern states came and remained for months. All were made welcome. The home was conducted like the old southern plantation. There were some 60 or 70 slaves. There were the blacksmith and carpenter shop, a shoe shop, a loom room, where those pretty spreads and counterpanes were made; there were spinners, gardeners, dairy maids, house servants, cooks and nurses, besides the coachmen, two hostlers, cow-herds, sheep tenders, the regular field hands, and about 20 little darkies who were called on to rake up leaves, play with the little white children, hold the ponies to feed on the grass, and one or two detailed to wave the peacock fly-brush and keep the flies off the table at meals. Generally, there was one too, to run backwards and forwards to and from the kitchen at breakfast and supper to bring the hot cakes.

"The life of the master and mistress was a very busy one. They rose early to look after the household, the servants, the stock etc. Grandpa made the round of the barns and stables early every morning to set each hand to his task, to see that the stock was well tended etc. There was a large number of horses and 12 cows were always milked. Grandma was up hours before her guests, seeing that the house was put in order, the breakfast properly under way, fresh flowers gathered for the table etc.

"Her lawn, flower-beds and garden took much of her attention. At the time the house was remodeled, the front lawn, circle and drive-way and flower-beds (as we knew them) were made, and almost every known flower and shrub of that day was secured and planted there, from the spruce pine of the mountains to the cypress of the coast, and from the mountain rhododendron to the tender crepe myrtle and yellow jessamine. I heard of Mrs. Folk's saying that Grandma knew more about trees and plants and just where and how to plant them than any one she ever saw. Besides this, Grandma was a beautiful seamstress (doing the most perfect darning I ever saw); She played well on the piano, guitar, and zither; she painted exceedingly well and wrote some beautiful poetry. Grandpa was particularly well informed in many lines; was exceedingly particular in writing and spelling, as well as in grammar and in the use of just the right word for the occasion, and used very fine English, although he went to work at 15 years and never returned to school.

"Of course, my most vivid recollections of Palmyra are of my happy childhood years there, and although a terrible war was raging about us, we were shielded from all harm and suffering. My father, who foresaw a long struggle, laid up many supplies in large quantities, beforehand, so that we never suffered the privations that many did. It always seemed to me that my grandmother's arms were the

refuge from all trouble and sorrow. Cousin Laura Norwood voices the feelings of many when she says: 'When I first remember Palmyra the new house was complete in all its beauty, and to me, was the loveliest place on earth, pervaded by the very spirit of kindness and hospitality.'

"I see I have said nothing of the religious life at Palmyra, which pervaded everything. Grandpa and Grandma were two of the most devout people I have ever known. They carried their religion into their every day life, and its influence was felt by every one, from the most exalted visitor to the home, to the humblest slave. They were daily and loving readers of the Bible; they lived and taught the Golden Rule, and all, without any cant or sanctimoniousness. Grandpa held family prayers every night, and on Sundays, when there were not church services, he assembled the family and guests and read the morning service from the Prayer Book. The house servants also, were often present. All inmates were taught obedience and love to our kind Heavenly Father. Grandpa was brought up a Presbyterian, but not having joined the church before marriage, he went with Grandma and became a devoted Episcopalian."

* * *

The Biographical History of North Carolina says of General Samuel Finley Patterson, that "he was born in Rockbridge County, Virginia, on March 11, 1799 and at the age of fifteen was induced by his uncle, Major John Finley, to remove to Wilkesboro, North Carolina, where he was employed as a clerk in the store of Waugh & Finley until he attained his majority in 1821.

"In 1828 and 1829 he was Junior Grand Warden of the Grand Lodge of Masons of the State, and in 1830 and 1831 Deputy Grand Master; in 1833 and 1834 he was Grand Master, and no one in the State was more highly esteemed by his fellow Masons. His career had been one of unvaried success and good fortune. His association with the public men who during the fifteen years of his connection with the Legislature had been members of the General Assembly had won for him their confidence and esteem, and his promptness, fidelity and integrity had made a most favorable impression throughout the State. Having begun business on his own

account upon leaving the employment of his uncle, he had so successfully managed his affairs that he enjoyed the reputation of being an excellent financier and business man. At the General Assembly of 1835, although he was a strong opponent of the policies of General Jackson, and the Legislature was largely composed of the friends of General Jackson, he was elected public treasurer of the State, succeeding William S. Mhoon. He held this position for two years, a part of the same time likewise discharging the duties of president of the Bank of the State, and adding to his reputation as one of the best financiers of North Carolina. But in 1837 he retired from office and returned to his business in Wilkesboro.

"In 1840, three days in June had been devoted to festivities celebrating the completion of the Capitol and of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad, and in that year Mr. Patterson, who was an early promotor of internal improvements and an able financier, was elected president of that, the first railroad completed in the State, and he moved to Raleigh so as to discharge the duties of that office. In 1845, however, his father-in-law, General Jones, died, and Mr. Patterson resigned his position as president of the Railroad Company and returned to the Yadkin Valley, intending to devote the remainder of his life to his farming interests. Largely through his influence, in 1841, Caldwell County had been erected out of portions of Burke and Wilkes, and Mr. Patterson's home, known as "Palmyra," was in the new county. Immediately on his return to Caldwell County he was elected chairman of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, having the management of all the internal affairs of the county, and he held this office until the old system of county courts was abolished by the constitution of 1868.

"The next year, 1846, he was chosen to represent his county in the Senate, and was again elected in 1848.

"At that time the affairs of the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad had become hopelessly embarrassed. There was not business enough or sufficient earnings to pay the running expenses Governor Graham, Mr. Patterson and the other friends of internal improvements were greatly discouraged, and recognized that some great effort should be made to sustain the Raleigh and Gaston Railroad by constructing an interior line that would serve as a feeder to it and give it a greater volume of business, while at the same time affording needed facilities to other parts of the State. Mr. Patterson, who was among the foremost of those who advocated internal improvements, was Chairman of the Committee on Internal Improvements, and drew a bill proposing to charter a road from Raleigh to Salisbury, and giving some State aid to it. This measure, however, did not receive sufficient favor to secure its passage. The friends of internal improvements, then the most important matter in the public mind, were almost in despair. Mr. William S. Ashe, Senator from New Hanover, and a Democrat who differed with his party friends on this particular subject, was appealed to to prepare another bill. He did so, proposing to incorporate a road from Goldsboro to Charlotte, and appropriating \$2,000,000 as State aid. At first the magnitude of this work and the great amount of money appropriated staggered even the most ardent of the advocates of internal improvements; but eventually that bill was substituted for the one proposed by the Committee on Internal Improvements and was passed by the casting vote of the speaker of the Senate. As Mr. Dudley was the leader of internal improvements in the east, so in like manner is the west indebted to Mr. Patterson for his efforts to promote the interests of the western part of the State in that respect.

"In 1854 he again served his people in the Legislature, being a member of the House of Commons, and during the

War, 1864, he was for a third time elected to the Senate. After the restoration of peace, a convention was elected in October, 1865, and in 1866, there being a vacancy in that body from Caldwell County, he was elected a delegate to that convention. In the same year he attended what was known as the Philadelphia Peace Convention as one of the delegates from North Carolina, the object in view being to establish fraternal relations between the sections of the Union and to restore harmony and good will among the people. This convention was presided over by Reverdy Johnson, of Maryland, and was largely attended by delegates from the New England States; and while it had some effect in staying the hands of the irreconcilables in Congress for a time, it did not entirely defeat their will and purposes, and the next year the Reconstruction Acts, destroying the State governments at the South and establishing new State governments on the fundamental basis of negro suffrage, were passed.

"In 1868 General Patterson was nominated on the State ticket by the Conservative Party for the office of superintendent of public works, a new position established by the constitution of 1868. But he and his party at that election went down in hopeless defeat, the first, such as it was, that he ever met before the people. Among the less important places that Mr. Patterson held during his long career of public activity was that of clerk of the Superior Court and clerk and master in equity; in 1839 he was Indian commissioner; he was also elected by the Legislature Brigadier-General and afterward Major-General of the State militia, and he thus became entitled to be known as General Patterson.

"For many years he was a Justice of the Peace, and a Trustee of the State University for a third of a century.

"General Patterson was a member of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and for many years was vestryman, warden and lay reader of his parish church; and in 171 he was one of

the lay delegates from the diocesan convention of this State to the general convention held in Baltimore.

“Such is the succinct record of his public life.

“Beginning as a clerk in the Legislature of 1821, there was not a year for a half a century in which he was not honored by the State of his adoption until, after fifty years of continuous service, he fitly closed his career by representing her in the grand council of the church he loved. What man in the State has ever lived a busier, more useful, purer life? Who, having so many and great trusts confided in him, has fulfilled them more worthily? He never sought any civil office which would withdraw him from North Carolina. His history, together with the history of a few of his peers and associates, was for many years the history of the State. Such men, so strong in mind and body, so pure in heart and hand, so steady, so resolute and so wise, during half a century of usefulness, influenced insensibly to themselves thousands whom they met and thousands more who honored them because of their acts. The study of his career and the character of men like him, who controlled the destiny of North Carolina in times past, will show something of the reason why the State has been so little known abroad, so loved and revered at home.

“They were like those Romans, spoken of by Sallust, who lived in the nobler days of the Republic, who would rather do great deeds than write about them—a people among whom the wisest were also the busiest citizens, and who, disdaining to cultivate their minds at the expense of their bodies, so used both to accomplish the greatest good to the commonwealth. General Patterson, although he held so many and various offices, and gave so much time and attention to public affairs, was for the last thirty years of his life properly a farmer. By this pursuit he supported himself while he served the people. His farm was a model of neat-

ness and thrift; he was zealous in introducing new seeds, improved implements and better methods of cultivation; he was a constant reader and frequent contributor to the columns of agricultural journals, and was justly regarded as an authority in matters pertaining to husbandry. His domestic life was as even, as useful and as pure as his public life.

"His home was attractive, and in the company of his wife and two sons, Rufus L. Patterson and Samuel L. Patterson, he was entirely happy; but being given to hospitality, he rejoiced at the presence of many guests. No one who was ever a guest at 'Palmyra' can forget the stately figure which welcomed him or bade good-by with such kindly, heartfelt courtesy. Nor was his generosity confined to his own premises; many a poor neighbor, both white and black, lamented the death of the dear friend who never forgot either their necessity or their self-respect, and gave as delicately as wisely.

"He died at his home, January 20, 1874, as peacefully as he had lived."

* * *

Mrs. Samuel Finley Patterson was such a many sided woman that it is difficult to write of her. Judging from the silk gowns, bonnets, laces, embroideries, crepe shawls, fans, high heeled satin slippers, lace handkerchiefs, ribbons, scent bottles, (of which she had a wonderful collection) one would think that personal adornment was her ruling passion. Yet, looking over the great clothes chests and closets filled to overflowing with her handiwork—woven coverlets and blankets, quilts of every description, bureau and table covers, a mass of most intricate embroidery and lace, pincushions and bags, and embroidered collars and underwear, chair seats, and cross stitch pictures, one would come to the conclusion that needle work, and that alone, occupied her entire

time. Then in wandering through the rooms admiring the quaintly beautiful china and cut glass, and silver, the beautiful old mahogany furniture that filled the house from attic to cellar, and reading the letters from guests who crowded the house to overflowing for so many years, one feels that she could have had time and taste for housekeeping and for that only. Her neatly kept account books with names of each slave, number of garments and shoes furnished each one, clothing purchased, contents of smoke houses, orders made for table linen, china and furniture—all show the business woman. She was a skilled musician, and the exquisitely painted landscapes on the wall proclaim her an artist. Her public spirit is shown in the letters and memorandum of her efforts in collecting funds to aid in purchasing Mt. Vernon from the Washington family. The work she did for that must have been very great, as the list is a long one of those who contributed, as well as of the meetings she held and people she visited to rouse interest in saving Washington's home from decay. In utter bewilderment, one turns to her letters as a court of last resort—and there are many of them—to father, brother, sisters, sons, husband, nieces, cousins, every relation is represented, and in each, she is the same; wise in counsel, most tender and loving, strong and capable. Her one thought seems to have been the happiness and well-being of her loved ones, and all her strength of mind and heart and body were given to making Palmyra the home to which their hearts turned. Nor did her interest end with kith and kin; friend and stranger received the same gracious help, if help were needed, the same comfort in sorrow, the still rarer sympathy in joy.

I once asked the late Mrs. Folk to tell me about her, and the reply was: "Mrs. Patterson and Mrs. Polk were the greatest women I have ever known, and of the two, Mrs.

Patterson was the greater. It was worth a trip to Palmyra to see her and General Patterson preside over a table full of guests; he so handsome and dignified and kindly; she so gracious and sweet to each one. I never knew a woman who understood so well the artistic arrangement of flowers and shrubs and trees. She was a born landscape gardener."

The orphans and motherless members of the family came to her as a matter of course; so did the sick babies and invalids, to be nursed to health and strength. It was also a matter of course for relatives from far and near to come with their families and servants to spend the summer. To be sure those were the days of trained slaves, and with Harriet, the meat cook, Myra the pastry cook, Cindy and Sarah, both good general cooks, and Ann and Margaret, the young cooks, not to mention trained butler and waitresses and house servants, the burdens of a housekeeper were very different from what they would be now, yet burdens there must have been. Beef and mutton had to be slaughtered and looked after; sixty hogs were killed every autumn for the year's supply, not to mention turkeys, ducks, geese, guineas and chickens innumerable. The slaves must be clothed from the cotton, flax and wool raised on the place, and spun and woven and made into garments. The mistress of Palmyra had no time to eat the bread of idleness even if she had wished. It is little wonder that it was said of her husband "after his wife's death, he never lifted up his head." It was in fulfillment of her wish that her youngest son, Samuel Legerwood Patterson, built the Chapel of Rest near Palmyra, and there she and her beloved lie, sleeping their last sleep in the Happy Valley they so loved, and where their memory lingers, a gracious benediction.

The best picture of General Patterson was given me by "Aunt Till"—one of the few surviving old slaves: "Old

Marse, he were good. I never seed no sech a good man, and he wore Sunday clothes every day. Come some biggoty nigger nusses up from South Carolina one summer, en dey craned dey necks and dey say 'I ain't never seed your old Marse wear no ever-day close yit, ain't he got none?' and I say 'No he ain't—all his close is Sunday close and he don't never war no other kind.' An' ole Marse, he were good. Every Sunday he gathered all the little niggers together and teachud us the Bible and the Catechism. I done members it yit."

* * *

General Patterson died January 20, 1874, his beloved wife two years earlier. Of their two sons, one, Rufus Lenoir Patterson, (of whom it was said: "He was a Saul among men, physically as well as mentally") had engaged in business in Salem and made his home there. Palmyra became the home of the younger son, Samuel Legerwood Patterson, who in 1873 had married Mary Senseman, of Salem, a daughter of Rt. Rev. E. T. Senseman, a Moravian minister, of Indiana.

What has been said of General and Mrs. Patterson and their life at Palmyra, could be repeated almost verbatim of their son and his wife. The same nobility of character, the same spotless integrity, patriotism and devotion to duty; the same kindness and open-handed hospitality were their distinguishing characteristics, even though war with its disastrous aftermath, had swept away the greater part of the income from the plantations. The courteous welcome, the loving sympathy, the peace and beauty of the place, still made it one in a thousand. Relatives and friends, old and young, rich and poor, sick and well, thronged to Palmyra, remaining for days, months, or years, as best pleased them. As his forebears had done, Mr. Patterson gave his best wisdom and energy to the upbuilding of the State, becoming

Commissioner of Agriculture and living in Raleigh the last years of his life. Even when smitten with the disease which he knew to be fatal, he worked bravely on until the end came in September 1908. In his will he bequeathed Palmyra to the Episcopal Church to be used as an industrial school for boys. His devoted wife did not long survive him, dying February 23d, 1909 at Bramlette, the home of her nephew in Winston-Salem.

A friend who lived with her for many years, pays this tribute to her memory :

"And what of the mistress of the old home who came as a young bride and ruled it for 35 years? It was not just the life either Mr. or Mrs. Patterson would have chosen; their social instincts would have inclined them to city life, but she loved it with all the warmth of a singularly loving and loyal nature. So great was this latter feeling that she hesitated to make the improvements her judgment suggested. Her only child, dying at the age of six months, left her motherly heart free to welcome all the many boys and girls who today look back with love and gratitude to the many happy days spent at Palmyra. Mrs. Patterson's beautiful nature and deep sympathy with youth, made her delight to have a circle of happy young faces around her ample dining table, and boyish laughter was never too loud for her nerves.

"Perhaps her most excellent feature was the perfection to which she carried her work. 'What her hands found to do, she did with all her might,' and they found very much to do, for her capacity to accomplish was little short of marvelous. In many a family the work of her hands will be cherished as heirlooms.

"Mrs. Patterson's father was a Moravian minister. After her marriage, she became a member of her husband's church, and made the care of the Chapel, the music and the Sunday school her especial care and delight. Christmas was a festival after her own heart. For weeks before, her nimble white fingers fairly flew in forming dainty gifts for relations and friends. The Sunday school tree absorbed her best attention and energy. She dearly loved to gather the mountain children around her and impart to them her music-loving spirit.

"Her success in pantry and garden might have caused envy had her hospitality been less boundless.

"If her life had been differently conditioned, I think her eager energy, her thoroughness and capacity would have made her a

successful business woman. Of a singularly clinging, womanly nature, she seemed unfitted to stand alone, but under stress of duty or sorrow, her calmness and bravery were most admirable."

* * *

As memories come of the sainted dead who in their time made Palmyra what it was for a century of happy years, the words of the Psalmist take on new meaning: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." Surely His was the guiding hand that built Palmyra in the Happy Valley.

* * *

PALMYRA AND THE UNIVERSITY.

The interest of the family in, and affection for, the State University began with its beginning and has grown with its growth. In Dr. Kemp P. Battle's most interesting history of the University he says: "In December 1789, the charter of the University under the powerful advocacy of Davie, was granted by the General Assembly. The trustees under the charter comprised the great men of the State, the good men of the State, the trusted leaders of the people. The first named and chairman was Samuel Johnston. There were James Iredell, Alfred Moore, Col. John Stokes, Hugh Williams, William Richardson Davie * * * Col. William Lenoir * * * The second meeting of the trustees was in Fayetteville (as well as the first) and was held on Nov. 15th, 1790. Col. William Lenoir, the speaker of the Senate on the nomination of the Speaker of the House, Stephen Cabarrus, was made President of the Board." It is interesting to see how that interest has passed on down from father to son from uncle to nephew, as student first and later as trustee of their beloved Alma Mater.

The list as given by Dr. Battle in his history, is a long one and comprises men in every walk of life.

1790-'92, First President of the Board of Trustees; 1789-

1804, William Lenoir, Trustee; 1835-1868, Samuel Finley Patterson, Trustee; 1858-1868, Rufus Lenoir Patterson, Trustee; 1869-1870, Calvin C. Jones, Trustee; 1875, Rufus L. Patterson, (still in office at death in 1879) Trustee; 1883, Walter W. Lenoir, (died before term expired); 1898-1908, Lindsay Patterson.

STUDENTS.

1. Edmund Walter Jones, Wilkes County, A. B., 1833.
2. John T. Jones, Wilkes County, 1832-36.
3. William Davenport Jones, Caldwell County, 1858-59, Capt. C. S. A.
4. John Thomas Jones, Caldwell County, A. B. 1861, Lt. C. S. A.
5. Edmund Jones, Caldwell, 1865-68, C. S. A., General Assembly.
6. Thomas I. Lenoir, Wilkes County, 1838-39, Capt. C. S. A.
7. Walter Waightstill Lenoir, Wilkes County, A. B. 1843, Capt. C. S. A.
8. Rufus T. Lenoir, Caldwell County 1844-45.
9. Thomas Ballard Lenoir, Caldwell County, 1880-82.
10. Walter James Lenoir, Caldwell County, 1880-82.
11. Rufus Lenoir Patterson, Caldwell County, A. B., 1851, Member Convention 1861 and 1865. Manufacturer, merchant, born 1830, died 1879, in Salem.
12. Samuel Legerwood Patterson, Caldwell County, 1867-68, born 1850, Planter. (Afterwards State Commissioner of Agriculture.)
13. Jesse Lindsay Patterson, Salem, 1878-79, Lawyer.
14. Louis Morehead Patterson, Salem, 1878-81, Teacher. Died 1886.
15. Frank Fries Patterson, Salem, 1882-85. Newspaper man.

16. Andrew Henry Patterson, Salem, 1887-90, Teacher.
17. Rufus Lenoir Patterson, Salem, Manufacturer.
18. John Legerwood Patterson, Salem, Manufacturer.
19. Edmund Vogler Patterson, Salem.

THE FOREST

BY R. F. JARRETT.

The last tree has been leveled,
That once stood upon yon hill,
And the stream is almost dried up
That once turned the little mill.
Great forests towering heavenward,
Once covered all its side,
'Till the woodsman came among us,
Cut and carved 'till it died.
Once a brook as clear as crystal
That was our greatest pride,
Swiftly flowed from out the forest
Watering woodland with its tide.
Once I wandered through this woodland,
Waded deep the little brook,
Caught the trout from out its current,
With my rod and line and hook.
Now the trout are gone forever,
And the hill is brown and bare,
Not a bird or squirrel or pheasant,
Can be sighted anywhere.
For the woodsman came among us,
Cut and wasted trees and stream,
That had brought us greatest pleasure,
That had been a happy dream.
Now the woodsman, stream and forest
Are a thing to us unknown,
They have come and gone forever,
Nothing left but the hills of stone.

THE FORESTS OF NORTH CAROLINA

By COLLIER COBB.

That the Daughters of the Revolution, a society founded upon ancestry and interested in historic homes, studying the past that it may understand the present and find guidance for the future, should be interested in forest problems seems eminently fitting; for the history of mankind has been much affected by the forest covering of the earth, and man himself has derived many of his most salient characteristics from a long line of ancestors who had the tree-dwelling habit.

It has already been pointed out that "his slender, agile body, and his delicately constructed, flexible hand owe their essential features to the arboreal habit of his ancestors." That the forest habit has also left its impress on man's mind seems equally certain, if we consider for a moment that the tree-dwelling species of mammals are generally more social and sympathetic, quicker-witted and of superior cunning in comparison with most of those that dwell upon the surface of the land. The tropical woods, where man began his existence, afforded an abundance and variety of food, and the trees furnished a safe and ready shelter from beasts of prey.

The earliest known mammals, little pouched marsupials, closely akin to our 'possums, though but little larger than rats, lived upon the earth at a time when land and sea were possessed by huge reptiles; but our forests were then just beginning to take on their modern aspect, and their branches gave a great vantage ground to little creatures compelled to fly from clumsier enemies and to live by their wits. And the forest afforded these early kindred of ours nuts and fruits and a great variety of insects which resorted there. And these little creatures bore the thread of existence through a

critical period in the ongoing of life, and rendered possible all that is best as exemplified in the higher life of man.

But man himself did not long lodge in tree-tops. His progressive desires soon brought him out of his ancestral woods, and the beginnings of agriculture led him to look upon the forest as an obstinate foe to his advance, a foe that he must rid himself of at any cost. Hence he became a cave-dweller and a hunter, a ground-liver and an agriculturist, and his home to this day is hardly more than a modified cave.

Man's enmity for the forest is only just now, and but slowly, passing away. He is coming to realize that a forest cover is essential to the maintenance of conditions upon which his own welfare depends, conditions of soil and climate and timber supply, influencing the fertility of the land, the distribution of rainfall, and the steady flow of streams—all fundamental factors of any healthy existence today. While man's advance in knowledge and skill may bring him to the use of solar energy to compensate for the loss of fuel when our coal shall have been used up and our forests destroyed, he can never find a substitute for the soil covering of the earth's surface, the least enduring and the least replaceable of any of those features on which the life of the earth depends. "It is the harvest of the past; and once lost, it can not be supplied save by the slow process of the ages."

The solid rocks of the earth's crust rot, through the ages, into various kinds of soil; but a brief examination with a magnifying glass will show that the soil grains are merely stony matter in various stages of decay. In fact, it is often possible to distinguish in this way the component minerals in a bit of soil, and, by this means trace it to its parent rock. But soil is not simply disintegrated rock, or even decayed rock; it is essentially disintegrating and decaying rock, material in which chemical change is continually taking place and in which minute organisms are constantly working.

A common experiment in my laboratory at Chapel Hill is to place in several flower pots crushed granite, the same crushed rock with organic matter added, the same material prepared the previous year and used for growing plants, and a bit of soil derived from the granite through the weathering action of the ages and taken from a field or forest many feet above the parent rock. All of these display marked differences in fertility, even when they show no difference in their chemical and mineralogical characters; and plants thrive only in those mixtures in which chemical reaction is taking place and the rock is rotting through the action of bacteria.

One comes to see, then, that it is only by a combination of moisture, oxygen, carbon-dioxide and other gases with stony matter, and the action of the microscopic bacteria, that a portion of the soil is brought to such a state that its plant foods may pass into solution to feed the roots of the hungry plants.

But this mantle of soil, forming a surface covering to more solid rocks, tends to move from its place of origin slowly but continuously down the slopes of the land towards the sea. If its original bedding place was upon a mountain side, it moves rather quickly towards the streams and leaves its parent rock exposed and bare. If the slope is gentle, the journey downward is slow; and where the land is covered with a thick mat of vegetation, "the soil moves downwards so slowly that before its materials come to the banks of the streams and are washed away as silt to the sea, nearly all the plant food is taken from the waste and fed to vegetation."

The quotations are from Professor Shaler, who used to say that "All soil may be regarded as rock matter on its way to the sea." He was one of our earliest students of soils and of forests, and our first conservationist; and I wish to acknowledge here my indebtedness to him for whatever of good this paper may contain, and this debt was incurred nearly three

decades ago, before forestry had become a fad, and conservation of our natural resources the watchword of constructive statesmanship.

Seventy-six per cent of western North Carolina is still under forest cover, or a little more than three million acres of forest land is found in our sixteen mountain counties. Of the total area of the state something like sixty-eight per cent is still under forest; but this is true by virtue of the heavy forest growth in the swamp lands of the East as well as in the mountain counties of the west, for in middle North Carolina far less than half the land area retains its forests.

Many men now living recall that from thirty to forty years ago Roanoke River was navigable to Weldon, Tar River to Tarboro, the Neuse to old Waynesboro, and the Cape Fear had boats running on a regular schedule to Fayetteville. Now boats rarely reach these points on account of sand bars that are regularly forming in the streams. The water is usually low in these rivers except when they are overflowing their banks at the time of our February and August rains. The level of the groundwater over the whole area has sunk in two score years to such an extent that it lies for the most part below the stream channels, and we are all familiar with the deepening of wells to get an adequate water supply.

In my youth I often crossed Crabtree Creek, near Morrisville, on the road from Chapel Hill to Raleigh. On those journeys I never saw the stream dry, nor did I ever see its waters beyond its banks. In the score of years just past I have frequently observed the channel without flowing water, the stream bed being merely a succession of stagnant pools. And I have sometimes seen it a raging torrent cutting into the land. These changes have all been brought about by the cutting of the forests in the middle portion of the State, and by bad farming on the cleared lands. The "clearing of hill-tops, excessive thinning of wooded hillsides, followed by the

burning of litter, underbrush, and young growth, and the compacting of soil by the tramping of animals, induces rapid surface drainage, and this causes erosion, gullyng, and washing away of the soil."

"The surface water running unimpeded over bare slopes and compacted soil washes away the soil, cuts gullies in fields on hillsides, and washes down silt, sand, and gravel, and spreads them over fields and meadows; thus the fertile portions of the farm are injured by encroachment from the unfertile" and the streams are filled with sand.

Our Forest Service, then the Division of Forestry of the United States Department of Agriculture, showed at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895 three models designed to bring graphically before the visitor the evil effects of the erosive action of water, the methods by which the farmer may regain his lost ground, and the way the farm should look when forest, pasture and field are properly located and treated. It is from the description accompanying the first of these models that I have made the above quotation.

The second model of the series shows how the farm is regained.

"To prevent erosion, gullyng, and washing, keep hilltops and steep hillsides under forest; change surface drainage into underground drainage; check the rush of water by means of brush and stone dams, terracing, contour plowing, and ditching; renew organic matter in the soil by means of green manuring and mulching, and give thorough cultivation.

"The rush of water must be checked by means of dense forest growth on the tops and steepest sides of the hills—places where floods acquire their momentum. At such points gullies should be filled with brush and stone work, runs filled up with brush, and the soil so treated that it will permit the water to pass through it and flow off underground."

The third model illustrates the best method of retaining the farm in proper condition.

"On the ideal farm there is no waste land, every foot of ground being used for the purpose for which it is best adapted. The farm is divided into cultivated fields, pasture, and woodland, a proper proportion of ground being devoted to each; roads are made with a view to convenience and grade, and stock is fenced into the pasture—not out of the fields. Damage caused by water is to be repaired at once.

"Hilltops, steep hillsides, and rocky places are to be kept under forest. A fringe of wood stretches along river banks, and long slopes are broken up with small groves or timber belts. Wood is cut systematically and judiciously, so that it will reproduce. Where natural reproduction fails, replanting is resorted to. The pasture is located on a gentle slope where the soil is too thin for field crops."

The first of these models reminded me in a striking way of the washed fields of middle and western North Carolina—more specifically, of fields around Chapel Hill and of included areas within the great Pisgah Forest, which Mr. George W. Vanderbilt had purchased but three years previously. That forest had formerly belonged to the University of North Carolina. I even strongly suspected that Dr. Chas. W. Dabney, then Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, had directed Professor Fernow's attention to this field. But models two and three seemed to express the forester's hope or ideal, having no chance whatever of realization or accomplishment.

The years that have passed since the purchase of the Biltmore estate have, however, seen all of these things, and more, accomplished. Mr. Gifford Pinchot, fresh from his studies of forestry in Europe, was employed by Mr. Vanderbilt to investigate the possibilities of scientific forestry on the property, and to suggest a system of management. There was no place in this country where a young man could get proper instruction in the management of forests, and Mr. Pinchot had with him at Biltmore as a pupil Mr. Overton W. Price, who was afterwards associated with him in the Forest Service.

After this preliminary work had been done, Dr. Carl Alwyn Schenck, oberförster of the Grand Duchy of Hesse-

Darmstadt and lieutenant of horse artillery in the German Army, was engaged to devote his entire time to the forest problems of the property. Dr. Schenck, who had had considerable experience in Europe, "put into operation with great energy the first scientific and practical private forest management in this country."

The heavily culled lands of this estate have been greatly improved, the cut-over lands have been reforested, the poorer part of the forest lying next to Asheville has furnished firewood for that city. About 2,500 cords a year have been cut from the poor trees, and marketed in Asheville at a good margin of profit, besides improving the stand. This was made possible by the construction of a network of thoroughly good roads over this part of the estate.

The eroded and gullied fields, areas included in the forest but not of the original purchase, have been treated after the manner suggested in the models and planted in trees, until now no bare spot is visible from the heights of Biltmore House, and all the lost land of the area has been regained, and is now retained at a profit. This was accomplished by experimenting with a great variety of trees, until pines proved to be the most satisfactory tree for the purpose.

The greater part of the Biltmore estate, however, is the great Pisgah Forest, lying in the mountains along the western border of Buncombe, Henderson, and Transylvania counties, to the east and south of the Pisgah Range. It comprises more than 80,000 acres of comparatively rough forest land, with elevations varying from 2,600 to 6,000 feet. Here we have a primeval forest of yellow poplar, hickory, maple, linn, chestnut, chestnut oak, white oak, black oak, locust, etc., practically all of the trees common to the central and northern forests of this continent, and in the southeastern corner of the area occur many of the forms characteristic of the southern forests.

"This part of the estate has been managed as a timber forest, the object being to produce saw timber of the greatest value. Looking toward returns from a rise in timber values rather than to increase in growth, practically all sound and thrifty trees over two feet in diameter have been saved. Though little lumbering is being done, improvement cuttings have been going on all the time. By the sale of 1,500 cords tanning extract wood and 1,000 cords of tan bark annually, the removal of much old and decaying chestnut timber and mature and slow growing chestnut oak is accomplished, to make room for the young and thrifty specimens of these, or even more valuable species.

"Roads and trails have been constructed in every direction. A total of 37 miles of main roads, 43 miles of byroads, and 198 miles of trails make this one of the most readily accessible, as it is one of the most beautiful and attractive mountain forest properties in the United States.

"Every effort has been made to protect these forests from fire. Rangers have been employed to patrol the woods winter and summer. Not only this, but every one living on or near the property has been encouraged not only to report but to assist in extinguishing any fires that may occur. Altogether, this estate is one of the best examples of the application of practical forestry to be found in this country."—*J. S. Holmes.*

As I send this to the printer I see in the daily papers that Mr. Vanderbilt has sold to Louis Carr the stumpage of 60,000 acres of this forest, all but about 50,000 acres of the timbered land of the estate. Mr. Carr, who will begin operations at once, has twenty years to remove the timber, and it must be done without injury to the young trees. Thus the forest will be used as heretofore, but not destroyed.

There are other large forests in North Carolina under scientific management, and if all our forest land could be owned in large bodies the problem of forest utilization and forest conservation would be easily solved. But this seems to be impossible under present conditions; and already much of our mountain land is passing under Federal control in accordance with the provisions of the Weeks bill establishing the Appalachian National Forest.

Land suited to agriculture should by no means be kept in

forest, and land that will pay best as pasture should by all means be used as pasture; but both farming and pasturing should be done in such a way as to save the soil, and with proper conservation of the soil stream regulation will take care of itself.

There is no need for keeping in forest any but our absolute forest land, by which term the forester means lands potentially more valuable for forest growth than for anything else. The seventy-six per cent of the area of our sixteen mountain counties now under forest cover is absolute forest land, the whole region being essentially a timber producing region. When the timber is removed, the thin layer of soil on the steep slopes serves the farmer's purposes for very few years, being soon washed away. Let the forest remain and serve for the production of timber, the prevention of erosion, and the regulation of water-supply.

The forests of our high mountains should then be protected for all time, since they are already becoming the chief source of hardwood in this country and furnish the material on which the wood-working interests of our own and neighboring states depend; also regulating the flow of streams, they render a service of inestimable value to the manufacturing interests of a very wide area. The wood for the cars that run on the railway from Naples to Rome came out of the Pisgah Forest, was made ready for the use of the builder in Wilmington, Delaware, and hardly more than put together and finished in Italy. The postal cards we use in this country are made from hemlock that grows in the Forest of Sunburst, this being made into wood pulp at Canton, North Carolina, and manufactured into postal cards for the United States government at Hamilton, Ohio.

Dr. George T. Winston said to me several years ago in Asheville that the material resources of western North Carolina were a blue sky, pure air, and fresh water. These at-

tract to our mountains every year thousands of tourists, who constitute that region's chief source of revenue. Cut down our forests and that will all be quickly changed.

Similarly, in our lowlands of the east, there are large areas that should never be denuded of their forests and drained for agricultural purposes, simply for the reason that their timber-value is potentially greater than their agricultural value. I recall one such area in Hyde County, which, cleared of its forest and drained, showed a heavy peat soil, though not very thick, resting upon pure siliceous sand. The peat never made a satisfactory soil, in a very dry season much of it was burned off, and today the sands are drifting before the ever-changing winds. In many cases the peat is far too thick for anything but forests to grow upon the land and bring continued profit to the owner.

One reason urged for the drainage of swamps is that they are a serious menace to health, so many people regarding them as sources of malaria; and one frequently hears the statement made that swamps are pestilential. All geographers know, however, that in our southern States alluvial lands are as a rule wooded, the Everglades and a few wet prairies near the coast forming an exception to this rule, as pointed out by Dr. Roland M. Harper. The alluvial swamps are common in calcareous regions. In the non-calcareous regions, where the climate is not too hot or too dry, we find the great non-alluvial swamps. These are higher than the surrounding country, are filled with sphagnum moss or its product, peat, and covered with valuable timber-trees. The great Dismal Swamp is an example of this kind.

Now it is well known that lumbermen and shingle splitters working in Dismal Swamp enjoy excellent health, and it is a matter of history that the water of the Dismal Swamp is preferred by sailors going out of Norfolk on long voyages,

because it keeps fresh longer than any other water, owing to the small amount of vegetable acids it holds in solution. No better antiseptic is known than the peat from which it gets its color of scuppernong wine. And many towns near to swamps, formerly full of malaria, are now enjoying health and prosperity because the women's clubs have cleaned them up, removed to a distance tin cans containing water and breeding mosquitoes, and induced the men to bore artesian wells for a pure water supply.

But along with all this comes a statement from Dr. John B. Smith, of New Jersey, one of the foremost mosquito experts of this country, who says that, "Any open swamp area, choked with grasses, so as to form pools to which fish have not free access, will serve to breed both *culex* and *anopheles*; but woodland swamps that are dark, where the water is cold, and where they are choked with bushes, do not develop mosquito larvæ." I have frequently had the same testimony from men engaged in splitting cypress shingles in several of our North Carolina swamps, the men of one lumber camp maintaining that they often suffered from rheumatism as well as malaria when at home outside of the swamp, but always recovered as soon as they returned to their work within the swamp.

Whether or not forests influence the annual amount of precipitation in any region, it is easy to see that they make for an even seasonal distribution. There is a vast difference between the evaporation from field soil and from forest soil, the leaf litter on the ground having a marked influence on this. It has been estimated that the evaporation from forest soil is only sixteen per cent of the evaporation from field soil. On the other hand, the evaporation from the crowns of the trees is enormous, and it has been found in the Russian steppes that the level of groundwater is lower beneath forests than in the open country surrounding them.

Few efforts have been made to study experimentally the influence of forest cover on the flow of springs and the discharge of rivers. The chief difficulty is to obtain two areas presenting essentially the same factors. The drainage basins studied should be situated near together, run upon the same geological formations, receive the same amount of rainfall, and have the same rate of descent. One of the basins should be deforested, and the other should have its forest growth preserved intact.

A near approach to such parallel factors was found by the Biltmore state, on the one hand in the portion of Pisgah forest drained by Davidson's River in Transylvania County, and on the other hand, in the upper drainage basin of Tuckaseegee River, in Jackson County, North Carolina. The two areas drained are geologically of the same age and structure; their headwaters are found within the same range of mountains; the rainfall of the two areas is the same; the steepness of the slope is about the same on the two watersheds.

But a marked difference is found in the treatment to which the two areas have been subjected by man. The headwaters of Davidson's River have had their woods protected from fires, from heavy lumbering, from reckless farming, and from erosion on the hillsides since 1895. The headwaters of the Tuckaseegee, on the other hand, have had their woodlands burnt over, farmed, pastured, and logged; in fact, the area has been so inconsiderately used, that, in many cases, the original litter of the forest floor has been entirely destroyed.

Now the Biltmore estate, with the help of the Hydrographic Branch of the United States Geological Survey, has been carrying on a study of these two areas. The Tuckaseegee, though it is the larger river, shows greater fluctuations in its discharge than does Davidson's River. In other words the discharge of Davidson's River is more uniform and

even than that of the Tuckaseegee. Davidson's is practically free from sediment; Tuckaseegee, at its flood-time, bears an abundance of gravel and sand which it spreads out over fertile farm lands.

The forester most interested in the problem* reports that the following factors tend to influence the rapidity of flow, if not the amount of water running from the forest-clad watershed:

1. The greater porosity of the forest soil increases its permeability; the water precipitated from the clouds sinks into forest soil more easily than into field soil.

2. The litter on the ground in the forest checks the superficial run-off of water.

3. The litter and the *debris* on the ground act as a sponge.

4. The melting of the snow is retarded under a dense forest cover. If the forest soil is frozen before snowfall, and if there has been accumulated in the forest on such frozen soil a large quantity of snow, then, indeed, this retardation of the melting process may become disastrous at a time in spring when the south wind causes the snow to melt rapidly.

5. The evaporation from forest soil in summer is reduced.

You are doubtless by this time asking yourselves, "Why have we such a magnificent body of hardwoods in our mountains? Why do our sandhills and coastal plains produce such fine lumber as we find in 'the pine-barrens'? What is the reason for the cypress, cedar, gum, white oak, and other valuable timber trees in our swamps? What are the principal factors determining forest growth?"

I have frequently asked this last question of lumbermen in different parts of the country. They are apt to answer, "Climate, determining the water supply, and geology, influ-

*Dr. C. A. Schenck.

encing the character of the soil,"—better answers than one gets from the average man of science. The New England botanists are inclined to think altitude the determining factor in forest distribution; those of the great plains are apt to emphasize the water-content of the soil. But plant geographers and geologists who are students of the soil are coming to see that, next to favorable temperature and an abundance of rainfall in the growing season, the physical and chemical nature of the soil and subsoil, along with its mineralogical composition, is the most potent factor in determining the forest growth of any region. In other words they are beginning to recognize that geological history, as it influences the composition of the soil and its relation to air and water, is almost, if not altogether, the most potent factor determining the character of forest growth.

But where diverse and seemingly opposed opinions are held tenaciously by thinking men, it is safe to consider that each and every one of them has a large element of truth; or, in other words, that all are right.

If you will examine a good map of our country showing the distribution of forests, and compare it with a weather bureau map giving the distribution and amount of precipitation, you will be impressed with the fact that the distribution and density of forests accord very closely with the distribution and amount of rainfall. The Pacific Northwest, the Southern Appalachians, a portion of the Gulf coast, and that part of North Carolina which extends out into the Atlantic Ocean for about a hundred miles beyond the normal trend of the coast, are all regions of heavy rainfall and of dense forest growth.

Next, examine a good geological map of North Carolina, and note that the line of demarkation between the coastal plain deposits and the older rocks is the dividing line between two broadly contrasted regions of forest growth which

we have always recognized, the pine-belt and the upland region of oaks—between a region of narrow-leaved evergreen conifers, and a region of broadleaved deciduous trees that is, trees that shed their leaves every year. Not all the trees in the pine-belt are coniferous, however, nor are all the trees in the oak-belt deciduous.

Observation from the car window as you travel over the State will show you also that not only are these two great forest types strongly identified with broad geological conditions, but that the distribution of many species within the same class is similarly limited. Even the dip or slope of the bedding planes or other lines of structure in the rocks, as it helps or hinders drainage, may determine the species growing in a given forest.

The Triassic Sandstones, resting in a trough of ancient crystallines, produce almost exclusively a limited variety of lowly pines. The moister soils of this belt produce loblolly pines large enough for saw logs, and medium-sized white and Spanish oaks. On the drier soils are found smaller pine trees of the short-leaved varieties, and post oaks and small-sized white oaks. These forests are what are often called two-storied forest, the upper story here consisting of pines from 50 to 70 feet in height, with a lower story of hardwoods little more than half as high; but even pure stands of pine are of frequent occurrence. The soils of this section are easily eroded, and those that are finer-grained, containing some clay, bake and cake in the dry weather following a rainy season. Consequently these lands need a large measure of protection.

In the peneplain to the westward, which we designate the upland region of oaks, the forest cover varies in density and in species as we pass from formation to formation. The slate-belt, with its sheared volcanic rocks and talcose slates, lacks an adequate supply of proper plant food. These rocks

make a yellow loam, close and stiff and usually lacking depth. They do not support dense forests, but woods of scattering pines and of small deciduous trees, for these soils are poorly drained. Under other conditions the forests frequently resemble the best woods of the Triassic pine belt, with rather larger examples of the hardwood timber trees than are found there.

On this same peneplain the granite and gneiss areas of the northeast, including Franklin, Warren, Vance, and the greater part of Wake, have a gently rolling surface and generally grayish and loose top soils, deep, and often very porous. Their forests are formed of post oak, black oak, white oak, and Spanish oak, with a considerable intermixture of white, small nut, and pignut hickories. There is, of course, a little short-leaf pine throughout the region, and along the watercourses, in the hollows, and on the cooler slopes, are red oak and yellow poplar, red maple and some ash. The larger forest pines, which were never numerous, have been removed for lumber.

To the west of the slate belt we have red clay soils derived from the decay of granites and syenites and some hornblende rocks, arranged more or less in bands alternating with loose gray loams. The forests of the red clay lands are black and white oaks, white and small nut hickories, with post oak on the thinner soil along the crests of the ridges; but low in the valleys and on the steep north slopes are the northern forms common in similar situations on the rest of the oak belt.

Lying to the west of the compact red and gray loams are fine-grained sandy loams, red or reddish in color, and having a thin surface soil. The forests of this division are of pine mixed with hardwood, of which the scarlet oak is most abundant.

Of our mountain forests little more need be said than was

said earlier in my talk about the abundance and variety of species of deciduous trees, except to add that black spruce is the characteristic tree of the mountain heights, where it is generally associated with Carolina balsam, whose lower limit is about three hundred feet above that of the black spruce. These forests of dark evergreens (hemlocks) lie along the summits of our highest mountains, and are seldom found on peaks less than 5,500 feet above sea level.

There is a marked difference to be noted in the character of the forests on the sunny southeast slopes and the cool and damp northeast slopes of our mountain ranges. Along the northern slopes and in the hollows we find hemlock, birch, maple, beech, chestnut, red oak, white oak, great laurel, yellow poplar, white ash, cucumber, and buckeye. On the southern slopes and along the gravelly crests of the hills the growth is less varied, being composed largely of chestnut, white oak, red oak, black oak, and chestnut oak. The forest on the southern slopes is less dense and the trees are smaller.

In the lower mountain districts we have another region of conifers in which Ashe has recognized three distinct divisions: (1) that in which the Table Mountain and pitch pine are the dominant resinous trees; (2) that in which the short-leaf, pitch, and scrub pines are dominant; (3) that in which the white pine is the dominant tree.

The forests of the coastal plain region consist very largely of pines on the uplands, but the maritime forests lying immediately along the coast and extending for a short distance inland, and the narrow strip of transitional forest lying along the western border of the region have characteristics all their own.

The transitional forests along the western border of the coastal plain show a mingling of the coniferous forests of the pine belt with the oaks and hickories of the broad-leaved forest of the oak uplands. The forests of the pine belt con-

sist almost entirely of long-leaf, loblolly, the pond, and in some places the short-leaf pine. This is the region noted a generation ago for its production of naval stores, tar, pitch, and turpentine; and from this district, now known as "the pine barrens," the Carolina pine, yellow pine, hard pine of commerce has been cut for a generation. Though the long-leaf pine is rapidly disappearing from the State, our supply of Carolina pine is by no means exhausted. In some of our eastern counties, fields abandoned during the War Between the States have grown up in loblolly pines that are now ready for the woodsman's axe.

The forests of the lowlands have their oak-flats, in which numerous broad-leaved trees, chiefly oaks, constitute the greater part of the growth, their gum and cypress swamps, their white cedar swamps, and their pond pine pocosins, all of which now furnish to commerce timber valuable in a variety of industries. The magnolias and palmettoes of the sandy swamps of the southeastern part of this region have no value as timber trees.

An adequate treatment of the whole subject of forestry is beyond the range of this paper, and should in any event be left to the professional forester; but I can do you no greater service just now than to refer you to the admirable papers by Gifford Pinchot and W. W. Ashe on the Timber Trees and Forests of North Carolina, published in 1897 as Bulletin No. 6 of the North Carolina Geological Survey. That bulletin has, since its publication, been my constant companion on field trips to different parts of the State, where I have for more than a score of years been noting the close relation-ship between geology and the plant covering of the earth.

There are several interesting features of geological control that it may be of interest to mention here. One of my clients a number of years ago had a car-load of white oak and hickory rejected by a wagon maker in Louisville be-

cause the wood lacked the strength and elasticity required; but the same white oak proved to be thoroughly satisfactory in the hands of a Cincinnati furniture maker, for it had just the qualities that made it capable of receiving a high polish. It was found that the timber had been cut from the ridges, where the soil was thin; while that which grew in the rich mountain coves or upon bottom lands whose soils were derived from the Brevard schist had just those qualities the wagon maker sought in his wood. Now in the case of conifers these conditions are just reversed, the slow-growing pine having strength and elasticity.

The external appearance of trees is profoundly affected by the conditions of their growth. Cypress, which in the swamp has a spreading top and puts up knees through the water to aid in aerating its roots, has a tall spindle-shaped crown and does not show any knees above the soil if it grows on the sand hill instead of in the swamp.

Hilgard has already pointed out the differences in the form and development of trees on soils derived from different geological formations. On loam uplands, sandy ridges, flatwoods, and black prairie, for example, all near together within the State of Mississippi the post oak presented four very distinct forms, varying from a mere shrub on the sandy ridges to a tree 70 feet in height on the prairie lands. The black-jack oak presented a similar variation, presenting characters which a botanist unfamiliar with local conditions would pronounce specific.

Normally large forest trees found out of their usual habitat present an extraordinary and interesting aspect. The chestnut tree, the persimmon, the sorrel tree, the common sour gum, the chestnut oak, and the holly, all trees forty, fifty, and sixty feet in height, under normal conditions, are found on King's and Crowder's Mountains as dwarf tree-shrubs, ranging in height from three to six feet. Neverthe-

less these trees all produce an abundance of fruit in their unhomelike homes.

Similarly, on our sandy coastal plain, we have turkey oak, black-jack, scrub oak, willow oak, running oak, all growing as mere shrubs and bearing an abundance of acorns, which wild turkeys and razor-backed hogs eat directly from the limbs; and yet we have seen some of these trees growing on the rich clay loams of the up-country or in some of the fertile mountain valleys where they attained a height of more than fifty feet.

On the French Broad River just below Paint Rock is a small area of typical pine barrens. In this and other isolated areas of pine barrens, which cover sandy river bottoms and the sunny lower slopes of our mountains, are found many plants typical of the coastal plain.

The dwarf tree-shrubs are absent from Mount Mitchell and Roan Mountain, but they are found at the top of Grandfather Mountain. A limited space on Grandfather Mountain is bare and presents an alpine aspect, being clothed with lichens and mosses, and many of our high mountains known as "balds" stand above the tree line as mere grassy meadows.

All of our forest trees show different rates of growth under different conditions of soil and climate. The loblolly pine attains a diameter of eight inches in twenty-four years on the poor land of the University forest at Chapel Hill. The same tree on Hatteras Island has a diameter of twenty-two inches after twenty-four years growth. On Hatteras minute fungi attached to its roots are believed to aid in some way the growth of the tree, just as locusts, and some other trees, have the aid of nitrifying bacteria to aid them.

In North Carolina we have all the great forest types known to North America except the Rocky Mountain and the Pacific forests. The mountains of North Carolina are

the oldest forest land on the continent, and botanists and plant geographers are agreed that the deciduous forests of eastern North America have been derived from that forest which reaches its greatest development in the mountainous region of western North Carolina.

While the hardwoods of the northern United States have migrated from the mountains of North Carolina since the last glacial period, it seems equally certain that the coniferous growth on the Balsams and other high mountains were forced south at the time of the greatest extension of the ice sheet, and are able to survive now only in the cooler atmosphere of our high mountains.

Similarly, on the tops of some of the monadnocks, or residual elevations, particularly those rising above the piedmont peneplain, we find assemblages of plants whose next of kin must be sought among fossil forms of the Cretaceous and early Tertiary times. These have evidently remained over in such isolated spots while the country all around them was suffering heavy erosion.

Looking out over the Balsam range of mountains, and noting the maturity of their topography, with its roof-like slopes and clear-cut divides, it is hard to see how just such erosion-forms could result from denudation under forest cover; and I am forced to believe that most of the erosion took place before any vast amount of vegetation had gained a hold upon that land. The topographic forms are exactly similar to those of the deforested areas of the western part of the province of Chi-li, China, now so well known through the work of Willis for the Carnegie Institution.

There is no likelihood that our forests will soon if ever disappear, for man has already learned that their destruction is greatly to his disadvantage, and that even in his own lifetime. Such a campaign of education has been conducted, and his own experiences have been such that it seems hardly

likely that he will now deliberately destroy the forests, even for present profit, whether we have private ownership, State control, or government ownership in National Forests.

University of North Carolina,
Chapel Hill, N. C.

MARRIAGE BONDS OF ROWAN COUNTY, N. C.

BY MRS. M. G. McCUBBINS.

Matthias Barringer to Mary Boger. September 13, 1794.
Matthias Barringer and Daniel Boger (in Dutch?).

James Brackin to Sally Jeffreys. September 30, 1794.
James Brackinne(?) and Samuel (his X mark) Brackin.
(I. Troy, D. C.)

Christian Brown to Barbara Troutman. October 7,
1794. Christian Brown (in Dutch?) and Adam (his X
mark) Troutman. (I. Troy, D. C.)

John Bullin to Catharine Shireman. November 25,
1794. John (his X mark) Bullin and Conrad Bullen (in
Dutch?).

William Bates to Esther Kern. February 5, 1795. Wil-
liam Bates and Daniel Karn. (I. Troy.)

John Bustle to Mary Bella. August 16, 1795. John
Bussell and Daniel Brown. (Cun^m. Harris for C. Caldwell,
D. C.)

Zachariah Booth to (no name). August 22, 1795. Zach-
ariah Booth and Matt: Troy. (Matt: Troy.)

James Bell to (no name). (No date), 1795. James Bell
and Richard Gillespie.

Joseph Baker to Jane McCulloch. January 7, 1796.
Joseph Baker and Nath^l. Johnston. (I. Troy.)

William Bracket (Brachin on front of bond) to Mary
Boo. March 12, 1796. William (his X mark) Brackin and
James Brackit (or Brackin?). (I. Troy.)

John Brown and Margaret Josie. April 9, 1796. John
Brown and John Josie? (in Dutch?) (Tibby [torn].)

Benjamin Brookshire to Milly Bingham. July 18, 1796.
Benjamin (his X mark) Brookshire and Boyd Wilson. (I.
Troy.)

Charles Berryer to Elizabeth Hagey. August 5, 1796. Charles Berryer (in Dutch?) and Henry (his X mark) Hagey. (Jno. Rogers.)

Conrad Bullen to Molly Traeksler. September 18(14?), 1796. Conrad Bullen (in Dutch?) and John Weant (or Wuant?). (Jno. Rogers.)

John Buringer to Elizabeth Smith. September 22, 1796. John (his X mark) Buringer and George Barringer. (Jno. Rogers.)

Robert Benston to Lucy Hitchins. September 24, 1796. pabboth(?) Benston and Jonathan Smith.

Lewis Bryan to (no name). December 7, 1796. Lewis Bryan and Henry M^cguyre. (Humphrey Marshall.)

Philip Boston to (no name). December 12, 1796. Philip Boston? (in Dutch) and Adam Casper. (Humphrey Marshall.)

Timothy Brown to Polly Beaty. January 11, 1797. Timothy Brown and Henry Pool. (Jn^o. Rogers.)

Geo. Brandon to Siddey McGuire. January 24, 1797. Geo. Brandon and George McGuier. (Jn^o. Rogers.)

Thomas Bailey to Precilla Andrews. February 13, 1797. Thomas Bayley and James Ellis. (Jn^o. Rogers.)

Sam^l. Bailey to Sucky (or Tucky?) Chaffin. March 15, 1797. Sam^l. (his X mark) Bailey and William Glascock. (Jn^o. Rogers.)

Wm. Bird to Jenny Lewis. April 2, 1797. Wm. (his X mark) Bird and Simeon (his X mark) Lewis. (Jn^o. Rogers.)

James Bolin to Sarah McKnight. April 24, 1797. James Bolin and Jn^o Rogers. (Jn^o. Rogers.)

Moses Brown to Cathy Swink. June 10, 1797. Moses Brown and John Hampton. (Jn^o. Rogers.)

Parker Baggett to Nancy Doty. June 13, 1797. Parker (his X mark) Baggett and John Doty. (Jn^o. Rogers.)

Wm. Beard to Jenny Hunt. Sept. 30, 1797. William Beard and David Hunt. (Jn°. Rogers.)

William Begham to Sarah Braly. Nov. 7, 1797. Wm. Beyham and Hu. Braly. (Ad. Osborn.)

Christopher Bateman to Ann Hunter. Dec. 5, 1797. Christopher (his X mark) Bateman and David Montgomery. (Jn°. Rogers.)

Christian Beaver to Sally Stoel (Shoet?) March 6, 1798. Christian (his X mark) Beaver and Peter (his X mark) Frieze. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

William Beaty to Nancy Hattock. March 20, 1798. William Baty and Wm. (his X mark) Haddock. (Edwin J. Osborn. D. C.)

Devault Beaver to Betsy Beaver. April 24, 1798. Devault Beaver? (in Dutch?) and Peter Beaver ([?] in Dutch). (Ed: J. Osborn, D. C.)

Christopher Baringer to Mackalena Messimer. May 30, 1798. Christopher Barringer and Peter Barringer. (Matt: Troy.)

William Behook to Peggy Smith. June 9, 1798. William (his X mark) Behook and David (his X mark) Cross. (Ma: Troy.)

David Baity to Sarah Hendrix. June 20, 1798. David Baity and William Cranfill. (Ma: Troy.)

Michael Brown to Barbary Mowrey. July 30, 1798. Michael Brown and Frederick Miller. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

Conrod Bost to Maria Anne Fisher. July 31, 1798. Conrod Bost and Henry Sosseman. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

Jacob Bushart to Ann Fullenwider. December 22, 1798. Jacob Boshart and Henry follenwider. (I. Troy.)

Fielding Bevin to Polly Moore. December 24, 1798. Feelding (his X mark) Bevin and William (his W mark) West. (Ma: Troy.)

Henry Beek to Catharine Young. January 12, 1799.

Henry (his X mark) Beek and John (his X mark) Blessing (?). (Edwin J. Osborn, D. C.)

Daniel Bowman to Polly Summons. January 14, 1799.

Daniel (his X mark) Bowman and Henry Giles. (Edwin J. Osborn, D. C.)

Robert Bishop to Mary Chadwick. October 29, 1799.

Robert Bishop and Wheeler Chadwick. (Wm. Melbon.)

Peter Barringer to Catherine Trexler. December 10, 1799. Peter Berringer and John Trexler. (E. J. Osborn, D. C.)

Jacob Booe to Fanny Glascock. December 28, 1799.

Jacob Booe and Philip Baker. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

Phillip Byal to Christean Luknbell. January, 1800.

Phillip (his X mark) Byal and John (his X mark) Luckinbell. (Edwin J. Osborn.)

BIOGRAPHICAL, GENEALOGICAL AND HISTORICAL MEMORANDA

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

MRS. LINDSAY PATTERSON

(Lucy Bramlette Patterson)

The article, "Palmyra in the Happy Valley," in this issue of THE BOOKLET from the facile pen of Mrs. Lindsay Patterson will be of much interest to the generality of its readers. "Mrs. Patterson, young in years and younger in spirit, is wide awake to the interests of her adopted state. In the numerous essays that she has written no one can fail to have gathered therefrom much of the writer's personality. In these letters, so gay and so sad, so caustic and so gentle, so witty and so tender, so severe and so kind, one reads a many sided nature; a soul strong to stand for the right and combat the wrong, a charity that believeth all things, a pride of race which is inherent; the deep love of blue skies and little children and singing birds and the tender blooms of life." Endowed with such attributes she well deserves the appellation given her by a correspondent of the *Charlotte Observer* as "Our Lady of Letters," to which may be added "Lady Bountiful."

The Patterson family through whom she descended are Scotch-Irish. Her paternal grandfather, General Robert Patterson, was born in the town of Strabane, County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1782; came to America, 1798, with his father Francis Patterson and wife Ann (Graham) Patterson. The career of General Robert Patterson was one of startling activity and versatility. He filled a distinctive and unique place in Philadelphia. His career as a soldier was no less remarkable than his life as a private citizen. He fought through three wars and was the founder of the famous

Aztec Club. At the age of twenty-five he married Sarah Engle, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, a brilliantly intellectual woman, fit helpmate and companion for her distinguished husband. Their son, Colonel William Houston Patterson, (the father of Mrs. Lindsay Patterson) was born in Philadelphia in 1832. He was a writer, scholar of unusual ability and a devoted patron of letters, inheriting from his distinguished father some of the most marked traits of temper and temperament. He touched life at many points and filled a place of large influence. For many years an invalid, Colonel Patterson retired from active business at an early age and devoted a life of leisure to his family, his friends and his books. His library, one of the celebrated ones of Philadelphia, was composed of books largely illustrated by himself. During the last years of his life he was deeply interested in the study of Southern literature, predicting for it a great awakening, believing that the South, so long sterile after years of once rich fruition, would again blossom and give to the world a literature beautiful and lasting. At the time of his death he was engaged in writing his memoirs which would prove a valuable addition to the historical literature of our country, were it not that these memoirs were incomplete at his death, in 1904. He died at his country residence "Cavana Lee Place," Russellville, East Tennessee, where his family spent a few months every year. "Cavana Lee" was given by Mr. Hugh Graham to his daughter, Mrs. William Houston Patterson. The Graham family record goes back to the Crusaders; were followers of Richard Coeur De Leon. They came to America in 1789.

From the foregoing it will be seen that Mrs. Lindsay Patterson comes of a distinguished ancestry and from them inherits qualities of head and heart which are being reflected in her present career as a loyal daughter of Philadelphia and a devoted Southerner. She is a prominent member of the

Daughters of the American Revolution, was Vice-President General of that organization, an active member of the North Carolina Historical and Literary Society, member of the Wachovia Historical Society, the oldest society of its kind in the State. She was the Chairman of the North Carolina History Exhibit at the Jamestown Exposition, which exhibit was awarded one of the three silver medals for the most meritorious exhibits, and which medal is now owned by the North Carolina Historical Society. Mrs. Patterson was born at "Castle Rock," her mother's Tennessee home, her father at the time being in ill health was ordered South for some months by his physicians. Thus it was that though a Philadelphian, she was born in the South, and so belongs to both sections, being again a Southerner by adoption, having married in 1888 Mr. Lindsay Patterson, a prominent lawyer of Winston-Salem, N. C. She finished her scholastic course at Salem Academy, North Carolina, a school so widely known throughout the South. Mr. and Mrs. Patterson's place "Bramlette," in the thriving city of Winston-Salem, is a most charming home and has ever been a social center from which has radiated a most beneficent influence. Mrs. Patterson, like her cultured father, is gifted with fine literary taste, and she conceived the design of promoting literature in North Carolina by offering some reward for meritorious achievements. Inspired by the deep heart-interest of her father, it has been given to Mrs. Patterson to become the "keeper of the light," and in furtherance of his desires and in the effort to promote their fulfillment, has presented a magnificent gift which will be not only a memorial to her father, but will serve to act as an incentive to the advancement of literature in North Carolina, the State of her adoption, in the future of which her father was especially interested. Certainly no happier idea could have been conceived by a daughter for honoring the memory of a father

and at the same time fostering and stimulating the literary spirit of our people. This prize is a loving cup which was made in the city of Philadelphia, is made of massive gold, being 16 inches high and 7 inches in diameter. The coats of arms of North Carolina, of Pennsylvania and of the Patterson family are borne on the bases of its three handles and it is studded with forty-nine gems selected by Mrs. Patterson from a large number of precious stones found in North Carolina, and bears the inscription: "The William Houston Patterson Cup" and "Cor Cordium" (Heart of Hearts).

The Cup was presented to the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina by Mrs. Patterson in 1905 and is to be awarded to that resident of North Carolina who during the preceding twelve months has published the best work, either in prose or verse—history, essay, fiction or poetry; in books, pamphlets or periodicals. At the end of ten years the Cup is to become the permanent possession of the writer winning it the greatest number of times, though if no one person won it three times, or if there be a tie, the time will be extended. No one is to formally enter the contest, and the judges, from their knowledge of our State literature, are simply to decide which North Carolina writer publishes the worthiest work between the annual meetings of the Association. Each winner is to have his or her name engraved on the prize and to retain possession of it for one year. The Board of Award consists of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, Chairman, and the occupants of the chairs of history at the University of North Carolina and Trinity College, and the Chairs of English literature in the University, Davidson and Wake Forest Colleges. The selection of the Awarding Committee was made by Mrs. Patterson. All the plan is regarded by the Committee as thoroughly happy and praiseworthy and practical, and feel that the whole State will

honor Mrs. Patterson for her patriotic action. The Cup has been won seven times:

First annual award, October 1905, was to John Charles McNeill.

Second annual award, October 1906, was to Prof. Edwin Mims.

Third annual award, October 1907, was to Dr. Kemp Plummer Battle.

Fourth annual award, October 1908, was to Hon. Samuel A'Court Ashe.

Fifth annual award, October 1909, was to Mr. Clarence Hamilton Poe.

Sixth annual award, October 1910, was to Robert Diggs Wimberly Connor.

Seventh annual award, October 1911, was to Dr. Archibald Henderson.

THE BOOKLET has the proud distinction of having heretofore published articles from these talented prize winners, and is to be congratulated that this "Lady of Letters" and the giver of the Patterson Cup has enriched its columns with an article in this issue.*

DR. ARCHIBALD HENDERSON

Dr. Archibald Henderson, whose article on "Elizabeth Maxwell Steel: Patriot," appears in this number of THE BOOKLET, is a son of the Hon. John Steele and Elizabeth Brownrigg (Cain) Henderson. He was born in Salisbury, June 17th, 1877. His preparation for college was received in private and church (Episcopal) schools of Salisbury, and in the autumn of 1894 he entered the Freshman class of the University of North Carolina. He was graduated from the

*Authorities for facts of the above from *Charlotte Observer* and Biographical History of North Carolina.

University at the head of his class, with the degree of A.B. in 1898. He was awarded the Holt Mathematical Medal for the excellence of his work in Mathematics. In 1899 he received his Master's degree, and in 1902 his Ph.D. from the same Institution. From 1899 to 1902 he was Instructor in Mathematics in the University of North Carolina. In 1902, he was made Associate Professor of Mathematics; and in 1902-3 he was a Fellow and Tutor in Mathematics in the University of Chicago. Returning to the University of North Carolina, he served as Associate Professor of Mathematics until 1908, when he was made Professor of Pure Mathematics, which chair he has since held.

His scientific researches have been prosecuted at the University of Berlin, the Sorbonne, Paris, and Cambridge University in England. The latter University recently paid him the exceptional honor of publishing his researches upon "The Twenty-seven Lines upon the Cubic Surface." Dr. Henderson is a member of the North Carolina Academy of Science, the Elisha Mitchell Scientific Society, (of which he was president 1908-9), the Modern Literature Club (of which he was president 1906-7), the Authors' Club, London, and the Phi Beta Kappa Society. He is also a member of the Sigma Nu College Fraternity.

Dr. Henderson is most widely known as a critic of literature. He has made notable contributions not only to scientific journals, but also to the leading literary and critical periodicals in America and Europe, in five languages, notably—the *Forum*, *Arena*, *Harper's Magazine*, *North American Review*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *La Société Nouvelle*, *Mercure de France*, *Deutsche Revue*, *Illustreret Tidende*, *Finsk Tidskrift*, *T. P's Magazine*, *Dial*, *Bookman*, *Theatre*. His "Interpreters of Life, and the Modern Spirit," (1911) "Mark Twain," (1911), and "George Bernard Shaw, his Life and Work," (1911), have placed him among the foremost of American critics and have given

him an international reputation. Dr. Henderson's sincere ambition is to serve his native State, and to promote the development of literature among North Carolinians. As some one else has said of him, "His head is bursting with schemes of things that might be done." He is assuredly doing a tremendous deal to stir the imagination and stimulate the inward vision of the people of the State.

The *North American Review* recently contained a sketch of Dr. Henderson in which it said:

"Dr. Henderson has also achieved eminence internationally as a critic of literature. His essays are frequently found in the leading periodicals of Europe, as well as of the United States. His monumental, authoritative biography of George Bernard Shaw has been pronounced, by critics everywhere, to be a great work. He is widely known, both at home and abroad, for his other works, notably his appreciations of Meredith, Ibsen, Wilde, Shaw, and Maeterlinck, collected under the title, 'Interpreters of Life, and the Modern Spirit,' his study of the great humorist, Mark Twain, and his model translation from the French, with his wife, of Emile Boutroux's 'William James.' "

June 23, 1903, Dr. Henderson was married to Miss Minna Curtis Bynum, of Lincolnton, N. C., who as co-laborer with him in his literary work, has at all times, been his most helpful critic. They have two children.

PROFESSOR COLLIER COBB

A biographical sketch of Professor Cobb appeared in the January, 1912, issue. He again gives THE BOOKLET a most interesting and opportune article on "Forestry in North Carolina," a subject that should claim State-wide attention. It is to be hoped that his investigations of present conditions may awaken the people to the importance of conserving our natural resources and lead to stringent legislation on the subject before it is too late.

Professor Cobb continues to fill the Chair of Geology in the University of North Carolina.

His first article contributed to this publication, January 1905, on "Some Changes in the North Carolina Coast since 1585," is of great enlightening value.

His second article, January 1912, on "Governor Benjamin Smith," the Governor of whom Professor Cobb said: "Lived just one hundred years before his time"—for he stood for the best of what has characterized each and every administration from that date, 1810, to the present, 1912.

The editor wishes to add somewhat to the biographical sketch of Professor Cobb which appeared in the January number of *THE BOOKLET*, as the part of his work which has especially fitted him for the preparation of this address has been done in large part since the data for the preparation of that sketch were gathered. Mr. Cobb has been for many years lecturer on Forest Geology in the Biltmore Forest School, working with the school for one month each summer in different parts of the United States. In January, 1886, he made the first plantation on dunes in this country, at a point not far from Virginia Beach, close to what is now known as The Hollies; and this little forest flourished until it was injured by fire about two years ago.

In 1908 he was with Professor Davis, of Harvard, as a member of an international excursion for geographical study in Europe; there he incidentally looked into the forest planting in Italy, around Grenoble, in France, and around Arcachon, on the Bay of Biscay. His studies of the dune areas of our own coast have been described in part in several papers, the best known of which is "Where the Wind Does the Work," and the work on the Bay of Biscay is seen in "The Landes and Dunes of Gascony." Both papers have been reprinted many times.

Mr. Cobb is now taking part in a transcontinental excursion.

sion in this country with Professor Davis and a number of European geographers, most of whom were members of the European party of 1908.

The author of the poem "Swannanoa" is unknown as far as can be ascertained. The erroneous statement in the July BOOKLET was a typographical error. The MS. was correct and read "Swannanoa. From North Carolina Reader, C. H. Wiley—1855."

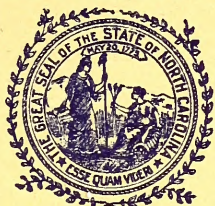
THE EDITOR.

Vol. XII

JANUARY, 1913

No. 3

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS IN NORTH CAROLINA HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

VOLUME XII of THE BOOKLET will be issued quarterly by the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, beginning July, 1912. THE BOOKLET will be published in July, October, January, and April. Price \$1.00 per year, 35 cents for single copy.

EDITOR:

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

VOLUME XII

History of Union County, Including the Waxhaw Settlement.

Mr. Ney McNeely

The Forest (Poem).....*Mr. R. F. Jarrett*

Masonic Revolutionary Patriots in North Carolina.

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood

Our Forests—What They Have Done, Are Doing, and May Do

for North Carolina.....*Dr. Collier Cobb*

Some Notable Senatorial Campaigns in North Carolina.

Judge Robert W. Winston

Historic Homes, Part VI: Palmyra in the Happy Valley.

Mrs. Lindsay Patterson

Elizabeth Maxwell Steele: the Famous Revolutionary Patriot.

Dr. Archibald Henderson

Reprint of Washington's Diary, written in North Carolina.

The Confederacy (Poem).....*Mr. R. F. Jarrett*

History of the Whig Party in North Carolina.

North Carolina's Social Life, Ante-bellum.....*Major E. J. Hale*

How "Carolina" Came to be Written.....*Mr. Jaques Busbee*

Old letters, heretofore unpublished, bearing on the Social Life of the different periods of North Carolina's History, will appear hereafter in THE BOOKLET.

This list of subjects may be changed, as circumstances sometimes prevent the writers from keeping their engagements.

The histories of the separate counties will in the future be a special feature of THE BOOKLET. When necessary, an entire issue will be devoted to a paper on one county.

THE BOOKLET will print abstracts of wills prior to 1800, as sources of biography, history and genealogy. Mrs. M. G. McCubbins will contribute abstracts of wills and marriage bonds in Rowan County to the coming volume. Hon. F. D. Winston will furnish similar data from Bertie County.

Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has consented to edit the Biographical Sketches hereafter.

Parties who wish to renew their subscriptions to THE BOOKLET for Vol. XII are requested to give notice at once.

Many numbers of Volumes I to XI for sale.

Vol. XII

JANUARY, 1913

No. 3

The

NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."*

Published by
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

EDITOR.

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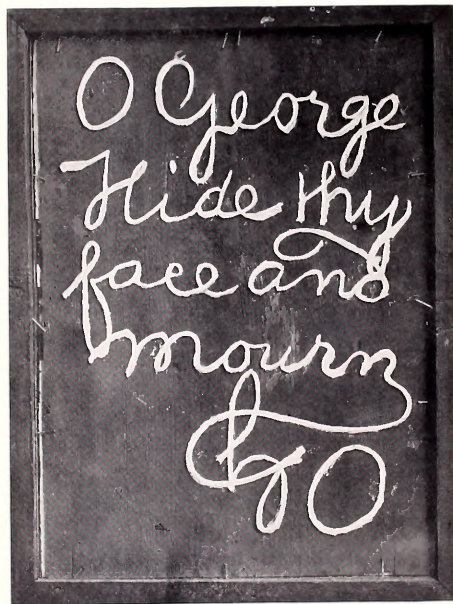
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King George III.



Inscription, in General Nathaniel Greene's handwriting, on the back of picture of King George III.



Queen Charlotte.

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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No. 3

JOHN MOTLEY MOREHEAD: ARCHITECT AND BUILDER OF PUBLIC WORKS¹

BY R. D. W. CONNOR.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED IN THE HALL OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, DECEMBER 4, 1912, UPON THE PRESENTATION TO THE STATE OF A BUST OF
GOVERNOR MOREHEAD BY THE NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Along the line of the North Carolina Railroad, from its eastern terminus at Goldsboro to its western terminus at Charlotte, lie eleven counties embracing six thousand square miles of territory, now one of the most prosperous and productive regions in North Carolina. During the decade from 1840 to 1850, perhaps no other State on the entire Atlantic seaboard could have exhibited a stretch of country of equal area which presented to the patriotic citizen so discouraging a prospect or so hopeless an outlook. Such a citizen traversing this region would have found public roads and methods of travel and transportation that were primitive when George III claimed the allegiance of the American colonies. Delays, inconveniences, and discomforts were the least of the evils that beset the traveler who entrusted life and limbs to the public conveyances of that period.² The cost of transportation was so great that the profits of one half the planters' crops were consumed in getting the other half to market, and hundreds of them found it profitless to pro-

¹John Motley Morehead was born in Pittsylvania County, Virginia, July 4, 1796, son of John Morehead and Obedience Motley. In 1798 his parents moved to Rockingham County, North Carolina, where John grew to manhood. He was prepared for college partly under the private instruction of Thomas Settle and partly at the Academy of Dr. David Caldwell, near Greensboro. He afterwards entered the University of North Carolina, from which he was graduated in 1817. In his junior year he was appointed a tutor in the University. From 1828 to 1866 he served on the Board of Trustees, and in 1849 was President of the Alumni Association. Morehead was the sixth alumnus of the University to become Governor of North Carolina. After his graduation from the University he studied law under Archibald D. Murphey. In 1819, receiving his license to practice, he settled at Wentworth, county seat of Rockingham County, where he lived until his marriage to Miss Ann Eliza Lindsay, eldest daughter of Col. Robert Lindsay, of Guilford County. He removed to Greensboro which continued to be his home during the rest of his life.

²"The road [from Weldon to Gaston] was as bad as anything, under the name of a road, can be conceived to be. Whenever the adjoining swamps, fallen trees, stumps, and plantation fences would admit of it, the coach was driven, with a great deal of dexterity, out of the road. When the wheels sunk in the mud, below the hubs, we were sometimes requested to get out and walk. An upset seemed every moment inevitable. At length, it came."—Frederick Law Olmsted. "A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States," 1853-1854. Vol. I, page 348. "From personal observations, I have found the roads leading from Raleigh westward, for the distance of fifty or sixty miles, * * * decidedly the worst in the State."—Governor Morehead's message to the Legislature of 1842. Journal of the General Assembly, page 409.

duce more than their own families could use.³ In 1853 a traveler, within thirty miles of the State Capitol, saw "three thousand barrels of an article worth a dollar and a half a barrel in New York, thrown away, a mere heap of useless offal, because it would cost more to transport it than it would be worth."⁴

Under such conditions there could be, of course, no commerce, and without commerce no markets. Such commerce as the produce of the fertile valleys and plateaux of the Piedmont section created found its way to the markets of Virginia and South Carolina; and among the people who dwelt west of Greensboro, declared Governor Morehead in 1842, "Cheraw, Camden, Columbia, * * * Augusta, and Charleston are much more familiarly known than even Fayetteville and Raleigh."⁵ In all the region from Goldsboro to Charlotte, Raleigh, then a straggling country village, was the only town of sufficient importance to be noted in the United States census of 1850. This section, now the heart of the manufacturing region of the South, reported to the census takers of that year no other manufactures than a handful of "homemade" articles valued at \$396,473. The social and labor systems upon which the civilization of the State was founded confined the energies of the people almost exclusively to agriculture, yet their farming operations were so crude and unproductive that a traveler, commenting on the agriculture in the vicinity of Raleigh, found it "a mystery how a town of 2,500 inhabitants can obtain sufficient supplies from it to exist."⁶ This was not the view merely of an unsympathetic stranger. Calvin H. Wiley, attempting to arouse his fellow members of the Legislature of 1852 from their indifference and lethargy, after referring to the "magnificent capitol" in which they sat, exclaimed, "But what is the view from these porticoes, and what do we see as we travel hither? Wasted fields and decaying tenements; long stretches of silent desolation with here and there a rudely cultivated farm and a tottering barn."⁷

But more forcible than any other evidence, because incontrovertible, is the testimony of the United States census. The census reports of 1840 show that nearly one-third of the adult white population of the State could neither read nor write. The population of the State was at

³Speaking of the building of a turnpike, from Raleigh westward, Governor Morehead in his message of 1842, said: "Labor can not be difficult to obtain in a region now growing cotton at six cents per pound, corn at one dollar per barrel, and wheat so low that it takes one half to transport the other to market."—Journals of the Legislature 1842-'43, page 411. "A farmer told me that he considered twenty-five bushels of corn a large crop, and that he generally got as much as fifteen. He said that no money was to be got by raising corn, and very few farmers here [about ten miles from Raleigh] 'made' any more than they needed for their own force. It cost too much to get it to market."—Olmsted, "Seaboard Slave States," Vol. I, page 358.

⁴Olmsted: A Journey in the Seaboard Slave States. 1853-1854. Vol. I, page 369.

⁵Annual Message. Legislative Journals, 1842-'43, page 409.

⁶Olmsted.

⁷Speech in favor of his bill to appoint a State Superintendent of Common Schools.

a standstill. From 1830 to 1840, thirty-two of the sixty-eight counties of North Carolina lost in population, while the increase in the State as a whole was less than two and a half per cent.⁸ The best blood of North Carolina, refusing to remain at home and stagnate, was flowing in a steady stream into the vast and fertile regions of the South and West; and that brain and energy which should have been utilized in developing the resources of North Carolina was being forced to seek an outlet in other regions where it went to lay the foundations of Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, of Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana. Dr. Wiley was guilty of no exaggeration when he declared that North Carolina had "long been regarded by her own citizens as a mere nursery to grow up in"; that the State had become a great camping ground on which the inhabitants were merely tenanted for a while; and that thousands were annually seeking homes elsewhere whose sacrifices in moving would have paid for twenty years their share of taxation sufficient to give to North Carolina all the fancied advantages of those regions whither they went to be taxed with disease and suffering. The melancholy sign "For Sale" seemed plowed in deep black characters over the whole State, and the State flag which floated over the Capitol was jestingly called by our neighbors of Virginia and South Carolina an auctioneer's sign. "The ruinous effects," said he, "are eloquently recorded in deserted farms, in wide wastes of guttered sedgefields, in neglected resources, in the absence of improvements, and in the hardships, sacrifices and sorrows of constant emigration."

Such was the view which Central North Carolina presented to the keen eyes of John M. Morehead when, in the closing days of 1840, he journeyed from Greensboro to Raleigh to assume his duties and responsibilities as Chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth. As desolate as the prospect was, however, Morehead's foresight saw in it not a little to give him courage. He must have realized that North Carolina was standing at the turn of the road and that much depended on the wisdom and prudence with which he himself directed her choice of future routes. Four years before a new Constitution, profoundly affecting the political life of the State, had gone into operation, from which Morehead, and other leaders who thought as he did, had prophesied great results for the upbuilding of the State. This new Constitution had paved the way for the work of a small group of constructive statesmen, of whom Morehead was now the chosen leader, who were destined to direct and lead the public thought of North Carolina during the quarter century from 1835 to 1860.

Among these men two distinct types of genius were represented. On

⁸Population in 1830, 737,987; in 1840, 753,409.

the one hand there were the dreamers,—men who had the power of vision to see what the future held in store for their country, who wrote and spoke forcibly of what they foresaw, but lacked the power to convince men of the practicability of their visions. On the other hand there were the so called practical men,—men who knew well enough how to construct what other men had planned, but lacked the power of vision necessary to see beyond the common everyday affairs that surrounded and engrossed them. Once in an age appears that rare individual, both architect and contractor, both poet and man of action, to whom is given both the power to dream and the power to execute. Such men write themselves deep in their country's annals and make the epochs of history.

In the history of North Carolina such a man was John M. Morehead. Those who have written and spoken of Governor Morehead heretofore have been chiefly impressed with his great practical wisdom,⁹ and this he certainly had as much as any other man in our history. As for myself, what most impresses me after a careful study of his life and works, is his wonderful power of vision. He was our most visionary builder, our greatest practical dreamer. No other man of his day had so clear a vision of the future to which North Carolina was destined, or did so much to bring about its realization as Governor Morehead. It is no exaggeration to say that we have not now in process of construction, and have not had since his day, a single great work of internal improvement of which he did not dream and for which he did not labor. He dreamed of great lines of railroad binding together not only all sections of North Carolina, but connecting this State with every part of the American Union. He dreamed of a network of improved country roads leading from every farm in the State to all her markets. He dreamed of a great central highway, fed by these roads, finding its origin in the waters of the Atlantic at Morehead City and finally losing itself in the clouds that hang about the crests of the Blue Ridge. He dreamed of the day when the channels of our rivers would be so deepened and widened that they could bear upon their waters our share of the commerce of the world. He dreamed of an inland waterway connecting the harbor of Beaufort with the waters of Pamlico Sound and through the opening of Roanoke Inlet, affording a safe inland passage for coastwise vessels around the whitecaps of Cape Hatteras. He dreamed of the day when the flags of all nations might be seen floating from the mast-heads of their fleets riding at anchor in the harbors of Beaufort and

⁹Kerr, John, "Oration on the Life and Character of John M. Morehead"; In Memoriam of John M. Morehead, Raleigh, 1868; Scott, William Lafayette, "Tribute to the Genius and Worth of John M. Morehead"; *Ibid*; Smith, C. Alphonso, "John Motley Morehead"; The Biographical History of North Carolina, Vol. VI, pp. 250-258; Wooten, Council, "Governor Morehead"; Charlotte *Daily Observer*, September 30, 1901.

Wilmington. He dreamed of a chain of mills and factories dotting every river bank in the State and distributing over these highways of commerce a variety of products bearing the brand of North Carolina manufacturers.

Such were his dreams, and the history of North Carolina during the last half-century is largely the story of their realization. It is this fact that gives to Morehead his unique place in our history. He had a distinguished political career, but his fame is not the fame of the office holder.¹⁰ Indeed, no other man in our history, save Charles B. Aycock alone, in so brief a public career, made so deep an impression on the life of the State. The explanation is simple. The public service of each was inspired by a genuine love of the State and consecrated to the accomplishment of a great purpose. The educational and intellectual development which Aycock stimulated was based on the material prosperity of which Morehead laid the foundation. It is, then, his service as architect and builder of great and enduring public works that gives to Morehead his distinctive place in our annals, and it is of this service that I shall speak today.

When Morehead began his public career the prevailing political thought of the State was, in modern political vernacular, reactionary. Representation was distributed equally among the counties, regardless of population. East of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery was most strongly entrenched, thirty-five counties with a combined population of 294,312, sent to the General Assembly sixteen more Commoners and eight more Senators than twenty-seven counties west of Raleigh which had a combined population of 50,205 more people. A property qualification was requisite for membership in the General Assembly and inasmuch as all State officials were elected by the Legislature, not by the people directly, Property, not Men, controlled the government. The theory of Property was that the best government is that which governs least. Adherents of this school of politics taught, therefore, that government had fulfilled its mission when it had preserved order, punished crime, and kept down the rate of taxation. But another school of political thought, originating in the counties west of Raleigh, where the institution of slavery had not secured so strong a foothold, was now beginning to make itself heard. Its adherents favored a constitutional

¹⁰In 1821 he represented Rockingham County in the House of Commons; in 1826, 1827 and 1858 he represented Guilford County in the House, and in 1860 in the Senate. He was one of the delegates from Guilford in the Convention of 1835. In 1840 he was elected Governor, and in 1842 was re-elected. He was the permanent presiding officer of the National Whig Convention, which met at Philadelphia, June 7, 1848, and nominated General Zachary Taylor for the Presidency. By the act establishing the North Carolina Insane Asylum he was designated as Chairman of the Board of Commissioners to locate and build the asylum. In 1857 he was elected President of the association organized for the purpose of erecting at Greensboro a monument to General Nathanael Greene. He was one of the delegates from North Carolina to the Peace Congress at Washington in 1861. In 1861-'62 he was a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States. He died at Greensboro, August 27, 1866.

convention to revise the basis of representation, to give to the people the right to elect their chief magistrate, and in other respects to make the government popular in practice as well as in form; and they advocated internal improvements, geological surveys, the conservation of resources, asylums for the insane, public schools, schools for the deaf and dumb and for the blind, and numerous other progressive measures which all right thinking people now acknowledge to be governmental in their nature. These men were the Progressives of their day.

Morehead found his place among these Progressives. As a member of the General Assembly he was among the foremost in advocating a constitutional convention. He supported measures for the building of good roads, for the digging of canals, for the improvement of inland navigation, for drainage of swamps, and for railroad surveys.¹¹ He opposed a bill to prevent the education of negroes, moved the appointment of a select committee on the colonization of slaves, introduced a bill providing for their emancipation under certain conditions, and displayed so much interest in measures for the amelioration of the conditions of the slaves that his opponents, when he became a candidate for Governor, charged him with being at heart an Abolitionist.¹² He endeavored to secure the appropriation of funds for the collection of material for the preservation of the history of North Carolina¹³ and took a deep interest in all measures for the promotion of public education. In 1827, while he was chairman of the Committee on Education, a bill came before his committee to repeal the Act of 1825 which had created the Literary Fund "for the establishment of common schools." Morehead submitted the report of the committee, in which he said:

Your committee believe that the passage of that act [to establish common schools] must have been greeted by every philanthropist and friend of civil liberty as the foundation on which was to rest the future happiness of our citizens and the perpetuity of our political institutions. * * * From the very nature of our civil institutions, the people must act; it is wisdom and policy to teach them to act from the lights of reason, and not from the blind impulse of deluded feeling. * * * Independent of any political influence that general education might have, your committee are of opinion that any State or sovereign, having the means at command, are morally criminal if they neglect to contribute to each citizen or subject that individual usefulness and happiness which arises from a well cultured understanding. * * * Your committee can not conceive a nobler idea than that of the genius of our coun-

¹¹In the Legislature of 1821 he voted with the minority for a resolution providing for the calling of a Constitutional Convention; for a bill "to provide an additional fund for internal improvements"; in 1826, for a bill to improve the navigation of the Cape Fear River below Wilmington, and for a similar bill in 1827; for the survey of a route for a railroad from New Bern through Raleigh, to the western counties.

¹²The *Raleigh Standard* called him an Abolitionist because as a Member of the Legislature he "drew a report against the proposition of Mr. Stedman, from Chatham, forbidding the instruction of slaves." Quoted in the *Raleigh Register*, January 3, 1840.

¹³He introduced a resolution to advance money from the Literary Fund to be used "in aiding Archibald D. Murphey, of Orange County, in writing and publishing the History of this State," to be repaid from the proceeds of a lottery authorized by the Legislature for the purpose.

try, hovering over the tattered son of some miserable hovel, leading his infant but gigantic mind in the paths of useful knowledge, and pointing out to his noble ambition the open way by which talented merit may reach the highest honors and preferments of our government.

The committee, accordingly, unanimously recommended the rejection of the bill to discontinue the Literary Fund.¹⁴ The recommendation was accepted, the bill was lost, the Literary Fund was saved, and the foundation on which our common school system was afterwards built was preserved intact.

In the Convention of 1835, in which he represented Guilford County, Morehead supported the amendments offered to the Constitution designed to democratize the State Government. Two of these amendments in particular have had a far reaching influence on our history. One of them placed representation in the House of Commons on a basis of Federal population; the other took away from the Legislature the election of the Governor and gave it to the people. To this latter change we may trace the origin of two of the most important political institutions of our own day,—the party State Convention and the preëlection canvass of the State by the nominees for State offices.

The first party State Convention ever held in North Carolina was the Whig Convention which met in Raleigh, November 12, 1839, and nominated John M. Morehead for Governor.¹⁵ Reading the contemporary newspaper reports of this Convention shortly after attending the last State Convention held in this city in June of the present year, one is greatly impressed with the marked contrast in the two bodies. They were typical of the political conditions of the two eras in which they were held. The latter with its more than one thousand cheering, shouting, declaiming delegates, uncontrolled and uncontrollable, was truly representative of the aggressive direct democracy of the twentieth century. The former with its ninety-one sober, orderly, deliberative gentlemen of the old school, thoroughly responsive to the mallet of their chairman, was just as truly representative of the staid, self-restrained, representative democracy of the early nineteenth century.

¹⁴Coon, Charles L.: Public Education in North Carolina, 1790-1840; Vol. I, page 376.

¹⁵Ex-Gov. John Owen, delegate from Bladen, presided. A General Committee of Thirteen, one from each Congressional District, was appointed "to take into consideration the purposes for which the Convention had assembled" and to report thereon. November 13th, this committee reported, among other resolutions, the following: "Resolved, That having been inspired with a deep and lively sense of the eminent practical vigor, sound Republican principles, unblemished public and private virtues, ardent patriotism and decided abilities of John M. Morehead, of the County of Guilford, we do accordingly recommend him to our fellow citizens as a fit successor to our present enlightened Chief Magistrate, Governor Dudley."—Adopted *unanimously*. The platform of the Convention favored: (1) Economy in government; (2) Reform in the revenue system; (3) Reduction in the number of government employees; (4) Selection of government employees "without discrimination of parties"; (5) An Amendment to the Federal Constitution to abolish the Electoral College; (6) One term of four years for the President; (7) A National Bank; (8) A division of the proceeds of public lands among the States on a basis of Federal population; (9) Public education; (10) Strict Construction of the Constitution. It opposed: (1) Jackson's Spoil System; (2) Appointment of Members of Congress to Federal offices during their terms in Congress; (3) Making judicial appointments for partisan reasons; (4) Interference of Federal Officers in elections; (5) Protective tariff; (6) The Federal Government's making internal improvements "except such as may be stamp with a national character"; (7) The Sub-Treasury scheme; (8) Federal interference with slavery.

Morehead's election as Governor followed a campaign that is memorable in the history of North Carolina as the first in which candidates for public office ever made a canvass of the State.¹⁶ But in other respects also his election and inauguration as Chief Executive marks a turning point in our history. He was the first Governor to sit in this Capitol, in itself typical of the new era then dawning upon the State;¹⁷ and, what is more important still, he was the first of our Governors to discard the old *laissez faire* policy which his predecessors had followed since the Revolution, and to come into office with a distinct program in view. This program he outlined in very general terms in his Inaugural Address before the Members of the General Assembly, in the course of which he said:

I shall be happy to coöperate with you in bringing into active operation all the elements of greatness and usefulness with which our State is so abundantly blessed. Other States have outstripped us in the career of improvements, and in the development of their natural resources, but North Carolina will stand a favorable comparison with most of her sister States in her natural advantages,—her great extent of fertile soil, her great variety of production, her exhaustless deposits of mineral wealth, her extraordinary water-power, inviting to manufactures, all, all combine to give her advantages that few other States possess. Whatever measures you may adopt to encourage agriculture and to induce the husbandman while he toils and sweats to hope that his labors will be duly rewarded; whatever measures you may adopt to facilitate commerce and to aid industry in all departments of life to reap its full rewards, will meet with my cordial approbation. * * * It is equally our duty, fellow citizens, to attend to our moral and intellectual cultivation. * * * It is to our common schools, in which every child can receive the rudiments of an education, that our attention should be mainly directed. Our system is yet in its infancy; it will require time and experience to give to it its greatest perfection. * * * I doubt not, in due time, the legislative wisdom of the State will perfect the system as far as human sagacity can do it. And no part of my official duty will be performed with more pleasure than that part which may aid in bringing about that happy result.¹⁸

¹⁶Morehead's opponent in 1840 was Romulus M. Saunders. The vote was, Morehead 44,484; Saunders, 35,903; Morehead's majority, 8,581. In 1842 Morehead's opponent was Louis D. Henry. The vote was, Morehead, 37,943; Henry, 34,411; Morehead's majority, 3,532. The falling off in Morehead's vote is attributable to the disorganization of the Whig party following the death of President Harrison, and the defection of President Tyler. Morehead's first inauguration was January 1, 1841; his second, December 31, 1842.

¹⁷Referring to this fact in his Inaugural Address before the General Assembly he said:

"You are the first legislative body that ever had the honor to assemble in its splendid halls. I am the first Executive who ever had the honor to be installed within its durable walls. It will endure as a monument for ages to come of the munificence, the liberality and taste of the age in which we live. There is a moral effect produced by the erection of such an edifice as this,—it will serve in the chain of time to link the past with the future. And if ever that proud spirit that has ever characterized us, which has ever been ready to assert its rights and to avenge its wrongs, which exhibited itself at the Regulation Battle of 1770 [1771], which burnt with more brilliance at the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence in 1775, and which boldly declared for independence in 1776,—if ever that proud spirit shall become craven in time to come, and shall not dare animate the bosom of a freeman, let it look upon this monument and remember the glorious institution under which its foundations were laid, and the noble people by whom it was reared, and then let it become a slave if it can. May it endure for ages to come—may it endure until time itself shall grow old; may a thousand years find these halls still occupied by freemen legislating for a free and happy people."—*Raleigh Register*, January 5, 1841.

¹⁸*Raleigh Register*, January 5, 1841.

But we should not expect a man of Governor Morehead's great practical wisdom to content himself with general observations. To reduce these general observations into a concrete, practical system was the work of his first two years in the Governor's office, and when the Legislature of 1842 met he was ready with a message outlining a complete system of internal improvements.¹⁹ His scheme embraced the further extension of the railroad lines already built in the State, the improvement of our rivers and harbors, the construction of extensive lines of turnpikes, and the linking of all three together in one general system of transportation. One of the ablest public documents in our history, this message, for its practical bearing on the problems of our own day, still repays a careful study. With reference to the great inland waterway now nearing completion, of which the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor forms an important link, he said:

Turning our attention to the eastern part of the State, two improvements said to be practicable, assume an importance that renders them national in their character. I allude to the opening of Roanoke Inlet and the connection of Pamlico Sound by a ship canal with Beaufort harbor. Frequent surveys of the first of these proposed improvements * * * establish the feasibility of this work. The advantages arising from this improvement to our commerce are too obvious to need pointing out. But the view to be taken of its vast importance is in the protection it will afford to our shipping and the lives of our seamen. The difficulty and dangers often encountered at Ocracoke Inlet render the connection between Pamlico Sound and Beaufort harbor of vast importance to the convenience and security of our commerce and shipping. It will be an extension of that inland navigation, so essential to us in time of war, and give access to one of the safest harbors on our coast, and one from which a vessel can be quicker at sea than from any other, perhaps, on the continent. In these improvements the commerce of the nation is interested; it becomes the duty of the nation to make them, if they be practicable and proper. I therefore recommend that you bring the attention of Congress to the subject in the manner most likely to effect the object. * * * We should assert a continual claim to our right to have this work effected by the general government. * * * You would be saved the trouble of this appeal if the nation could witness one of those storms so frequent on our coast—could witness the war of elements which rage around Hatteras and the dangers which dance about Ocracoke—could witness the noble daring of our pilots and the ineffectual but manly struggles of our seamen—could see our coast fringed with wrecks and our towns filled with the widows and orphans of our gallant tars. Justice and humanity would extort what we now ask in vain.

¹⁹This message is published in the Journals of the Legislature, Session of 1842-'43, pp. 405-422; also in the Public Documents of the same year. Doc. No. 1.

Of the conditions of transportation and travel in the central section of the State, he said:

I would respectfully invite your attention to the public highways generally. * * * From Fayetteville, the highest point of good navigation, westward to the Buncombe Turnpike, a distance of some two hundred and fifty or three hundred miles, what navigable stream, railroad, turnpike, or macadamized highway gives to the laborer facilities of transportation? None! Literally none! This vast extent of territory, reaching from the Blue Ridge in the west to the alluvial region in the east, and extending across the whole State, it is believed, will compare with any spot upon the globe for the fertility of its soil, the variety of its productions, the salubrity of its climate, the beauty of its landscapes, the richness of its mines, the facilities for manufactures, and the intelligence and moral worth of its population. Can another such territory, combining all these advantages, be found upon the face of the whole earth, so wholly destitute of natural or artificial facilities for transportation?

"What scheme, that is practicable," he asked, "will afford the desired facilities?" And in answer to this query he made two recommendations.

The remedy for these evils is believed to be in good turnpikes. * * * I therefore recommend that a charter be granted to make a turnpike road from the city of Raleigh to some point westward selected with a view to its ultimate continuance to the extreme west. * * * Should this road be continued to Waynesboro [now Goldsboro], which might be done at comparatively small expense, the farmer would have the choice of markets, of Wilmington by the railroad, or New Bern by the river Neuse.

Further he recommended:

That a charter be granted to make a turnpike from Fayetteville to the Yadkin River at some point above the Narrows, or, if deemed more expedient, to some point on a similar road leading from Raleigh westward, thus giving the west the advantages of both markets. * * * Should this road ever reach the Yadkin, no doubt is entertained of its continuance across the Catawba westward—thus giving to this road the advantages which will arise from the navigation of these two noble rivers.

Nearly seventy years were to pass before the State was ready for the execution of these plans, and it was left for the engineers of 1912 to realize what the statesman of 1842 had dreamed. A vaster work was waiting the constructive genius of Morehead.

Turning his eyes farther westward, Governor Morehead foresaw the future development of the mountainous section of North Carolina. To make this region more interesting, he declared, we have only to make it more accessible, and continuing, he said:

The sublimity and beauty of its mountain scenery, the purity of its waters, the buoyancy and salubrity of its atmosphere, the fertility of its valleys, the

verdure of its mountains, and, above all, its energetic, intelligent and hospitable inhabitants, make it an inviting portion of the State. * * * When good roads shall be established in that region, it is believed the population will increase with rapidity, agriculture improve, grazing will be extended, and manufactures and the mechanic arts will flourish in a location combining so many advantages and inviting their growth. The improved highways will be additional inducements to the citizens of other sections of our State to abandon their usual northern tours, or visits to the Virginia watering places, for a tour much more interesting among our own mountains, much cheaper, and much more beautiful—a tour in which they will inspire health in every breath and drink in health at every draught.

Governor Morehead did not expect, indeed he did not desire that the General Assembly should proceed to put all of his recommendations into immediate effect. He realized only too well that such a procedure would require enormous outlays far beyond the resources of the State, and he never forgot that debts contracted today must be paid tomorrow. Sufficient warning of the effects of such a course was not lacking. Many of the Southern and Western States embarking in wild and extravagant schemes of internal improvements had made such vast expenditures that their treasuries had become bankrupt and their people oppressed with obligations which they could not meet; and to extricate themselves they had resorted to the very simple but very effective means of repudiation. If Governor Morehead loved progress much, he detested repudiation more; and the most vigorous passage in his message is that in which he warns the Legislature against such a course. Said he:

I would recommend that whatever schemes of expenditure you may embark in, you keep within the means at the command of the State; otherwise the people must be taxed more heavily or the State must contract a loan. The pressure of the times forbids the former—the tarnished honor of some of the States should make us, for the present, decline the latter. The mania for State banking and the mad career of internal improvements, which seized a number of the States, have involved them in an indebtedness very oppressive, but not hopeless. American credit and character requires that this stain of violated faith should be obliterated by our honest acknowledgment of the debt, and a still more honest effort to pay it. I therefore recommend the passage of resolutions expressive of the strong interest which this State feels in the full redemption of every pledge of public faith, and of its utter detestation of the abominable doctrine of Repudiation. That State which honestly owes a debt and has or can command the means of payment, and refuses to pay because it can not be compelled to do so, has already bartered Public Honor, and only waits an increase of price to barter Public Liberty. This recommendation will come with peculiar force from you. North Carolina has been jeered for sluggishness and indolence, because she has chosen to guard her treasury and protect her honor by avoiding debt and promptly meeting her engagements. She has yielded to others the glory of their

magnificent expenditures and will yield to them all that glory which will arise from a repudiation of their contracts. In the language of one of her noblest sons, "It is better for her to sleep on in indolence and innocence than to wake up in infamy and treason."

The schemes outlined in Morehead's message of 1842 were laid before a Legislature controlled by the Democratic party, and the policy of that party was hostile to internal improvements. Morehead accordingly was forced to wait upon events for the consummation of his great schemes. In outlining these schemes he had given evidences of his extraordinary power of vision; the next few years were to bring him an opportunity to demonstrate his ability to transform his dreams into actual realities. This opportunity, for which he had so long waited, came with the passage by the Legislature of 1849 of the act to charter "The North Carolina Railroad Company." The history of this measure—the long and bitter contest between the East and the West over the proposed railroad from Charlotte to Danville, the statesmanlike compromise of its advocates in accepting the road from Charlotte to Goldsboro, the prolonged struggle and ultimate victory in the House of Commons, the dramatic scene in the Senate wherein Calvin Graves immolated his own personal ambition on the altar of public duty,—all this has been described so often that it is not necessary to repeat the story here. The act authorized the organization of a corporation with stock of \$3,000,000, of which the State was to take \$2,000,000 when private individuals had subscribed \$1,000,000 and actually paid in \$500,000. North Carolina had long stood at the turn of the road hesitatingly. By the passage of this act she finally made her decision. The enthusiasm of Governor Morehead, who was not usually given to picturesque language, was too great for plain speech. "The passage of the act," he declared, "under which this company is organized was the dawning of hope to North Carolina; the securing its charter was the rising sun of that hope; the completion of the road will be the meridian glory of that hope, pregnant with the results that none living can divine."²⁰

For the next five years, during which the private subscription of \$1,000,000 was secured, the charter obtained, the company organized, the route surveyed, and the road constructed, the dominant figure in its history is the figure of John M. Morehead. In this period he performed his greatest service to the State and enrolled his name permanently among the builders of the Commonwealth. The experience of North Carolina in railroad building up to that time had not been encouraging. Both the Wilmington and Weldon and the Raleigh and Gaston railroads

²⁰Report of the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad Company: Legislative Documents 1850-'51, Executive Document No. 9.

were bankrupt for the want of patronage. In the face of this fact, it was no slight achievement to raise a million dollars in North Carolina for another similar enterprise. Yet this is the task to which Governor Morehead now set himself. On June 15, 1849, he presided over a great Internal Improvements Convention at Salisbury at which measures, largely suggested by himself, were adopted for securing the stock.²¹ Placed by this convention at the head of an executive committee to carry out these measures, he pushed them with a vigor, determination, and wisdom that aroused the enthusiasm of the whole State and inspired confidence in the enterprise. Speaking of his work at a convention held in Greensboro, November 30, 1849, in the interest of the road, the Greensboro *Patriot* declared that "the determined spirit of this distinguished gentleman touched every heart in that assembly and awoke a feeling of enthusiasm and anxiety, deep, startling, and fervent as we have ever witnessed."²² On March 6, 1850, Morehead was able to announce to a convention at Hillsboro that only \$100,000 remained to be taken to complete the private subscription, and then announced his willingness to be one of the ten men to take the balance. Nine others promptly came forward, subscribed their proportionate part, and thus ensured the building of the road.²³ "It is worthy of remark," declared Major Walter Gwyn, the eminent engineer whose skill contributed so much to the construction of the road, "that the whole amount was subscribed by individuals, without the aid of corporations, the largest subscription

²¹This convention was attended by two hundred and twenty-five delegates from twenty-one counties and Norfolk, Virginia. Among those present were, ex-Gov. D. L. Swain, ex-Gov. W. A. Graham, ex-Gov. John M. Morehead, John W. Ellis, afterwards Governor, John A. Gilmer, Rufus Barringer, Victor Barringer, James W. Osborne, Calvin H. Wiley, Hamilton C. Jones. Morehead was unanimously elected president. The correspondent of the *Raleigh Register* wrote that the meetings of this convention "had been looked to for some time past with the most intense interest, by the friends of the Central Railroad, as determining, to a considerable extent, the probable success or failure of that enterprise." He declared that "the Convention in every respect—the numbers, intelligence and respectability of its members, its zeal and its harmony of action—was all that even the most sanguine would have desired." * * * The address of the President was, in all respects, worthy the importance of the occasion and the high reputation of the man. "A Committee of Thirteen was appointed" "to consider of and report upon the measures to be acted on by the Convention." This committee recommended a plan, which the Convention adopted, for securing stock subscriptions and the appointment of an Executive Committee of three to carry it into effect. Morehead was made Chairman of this Executive Committee. The other members were George W. Mordecai and Dr. W. R. Holt.—*The Raleigh Register*, June 23, 1849. Similar Conventions were held at Greensboro, November 29, 1849; Raleigh, December 15, 1849; Goldsboro, in January, 1850; and Hillsboro, March, 1850. At the Greensboro Convention Governor Morehead "passed a high eulogium upon Calvin Graves, of Caswell, who had given the casting vote by which this charter of the N. C. Railroad Company had been passed," and then nominated him for president. Morehead was appointed chairman of the committee on subscriptions. He reported subscriptions of \$190,800. John A. Gilmer suggested that one hundred men come forward to take the balance in equal parts. Morehead headed the list, but the requisite number was not secured. After several addresses had been delivered, Morehead rose and said "that as the speaking seemed to be over, he reckoned we had as well get to work now, and take the remainder of the stock." As only fifty-one men had taken up Mr. Gilmer's suggestion, Morehead agreed to double his subscription, if the others would. The proposition, however, was not accepted.—*Raleigh Star*, December 5, 1849. On December 15, Morehead addressed the Convention at Raleigh at which about \$40,000 of stock was subscribed. He was also at the Goldsboro Convention. At the Hillsboro Convention the subscription was completed, and a meeting of the stockholders called to be held at Salisbury, to organize the company.

²²Quoted in the *Raleigh Star*, December 5, 1849.

²³The others were George W. Mordecai, of Wake; John W. Thomas, of Davidson; Dr. (Edmund) Strudwick, of Orange; Paul Cameron, of Orange; William Boylan, of Wake; Alonzo T. Jenkins, of Craven; Dr. A. J. DeRosset, of New Hanover; Giles Mebane, of Alamance; and a group of ten individuals in Orange who subscribed the last ten thousand.—*Raleigh Star*, March 20, 1850.

thus made to any public improvement in the Southern country." The editor of the *Raleigh Star*,²⁴ announced the completion of the private subscription with the following comments:

We must be permitted to remark that the State owes much to that sterling man, Governor Morehead, for success in this enterprise; and that he who has heretofore been styled a "wheel horse" in this matter, may be justly entitled to the appellation of a "whole team." Whilst we pen these hasty lines, the deep-mouthed cannon is pealing forth from Union Square commemorative of this great deed for North Carolina. We are not of a very excitable disposition, but we must confess that it makes our blood run quicker at every peal, so that we can scarcely restrain ourselves from responding to its notes, "Huzza! Huzza! for the railroad."

On July 11, 1850, the private stockholders met at Salisbury and organized the company.²⁵ The board of directors unanimously elected John M. Morehead president. He was continuously reëlected president until 1855, when declining further election he was succeeded by Charles F. Fisher. During these five years of President Morehead's administration the North Carolina Railroad, truly described as "the greatest of all enterprises so far attempted by the State of North Carolina in the nature of a public or internal improvement," was constructed and opened to traffic. The surveys were commenced August 21, 1850; on July 11, 1851, at Greensboro, in the presence of an immense throng, ground for the laying of the rails was broken;²⁶ on January 29, 1856, the road was ready for cars from Goldsboro to Charlotte, a distance of two hundred and twenty-three miles. In his last report to the board of directors, Engineer Gwyn said that the breaking of ground for this railroad "may be justly regarded as an event which will ever be memorable in the annals of North Carolina—an era which marks her engaging with

²⁴March 6, 1850.

²⁵The following Directors were elected: William C. Means, John B. Lord, John I. Shaver, Francis Fries, John W. Thomas, John M. Morehead, John A. Gilmer, William A. Graham, Benjamin Trolinger, Romulus M. Saunders, Armand J. DeRosset, Alonzo T. Jerkins. The Directors elected the following officers: President, John M. Morehead; Secretary-Treasurer, John U. Kirkland; Engineer, Major Walter Gwyn.

²⁶This ceremony followed the regular annual meeting of the stockholders. The correspondent of the *Raleigh Register* gives the following account of it:

"A crowd of people appeared, ready for the celebration, such as we may safely say was never seen in our town before for numbers. It was one universal jam all out of doors. The young gentlemen who acted as marshals had hard enough work of it, to persuade this vast and unwieldy crowd into marching shape; but they at length succeeded to a degree which at first appeared impossible. The procession was formed on West Street, the clergy in front; then the stockholders; then the Orders of Odd Fellows and Free Masons, who turned out in great numbers and in full regalia; closing with the citizens generally. This immense line moved down South Street to a point on the Railroad survey nearly opposite the Caldwell Institute building, where a space of a hundred feet each way was enclosed by a line and reserved for the ceremony of the day. The north side of this space was occupied by the ladies, whose smiles are always ready for the encouragement of every good word and work. The other three sides were soon occupied by the male portion of the assemblage, from ten to twenty deep around. You may imagine, then, the difficulty which the 'rear rank' encountered in getting a glimpse of the proceedings within.

"Having the misfortune to be among the outsiders, our situation was of course unfavorable for hearing, and seeing was impossible. But we did hear nearly every word of Governor Morehead's clear, sonorous voice, as he introduced the Hon. Calvin Graves to the vast assemblage. He did this in terms eloquent and singularly appropriate to the occasion. After alluding to the necessity so long felt by our people for an outlet to the commercial world—to the inception of the great scheme, the commencement of which we had met today to celebrate—to the vicissitudes of the charter before the two houses

earnestness in honorable competition with her sister states in the great work of internal improvement which is to raise the State to that rank which the advantages of her situation entitle her to hold," and continuing, he said:

From this memorable day, July 11, 1851, there has been no faltering or despondency; all have been united heart and hand in the great undertaking; the whole State, her entire people, catching the enthusiasm which it engendered, have come forth in their might and majesty, battling in the cause of internal improvement, those heretofore signalized as laggards now pressing forward in the front rank. * * * The contractors on the North Carolina Railroad were all stockholders, and with only two or three exceptions entirely destitute of experience in the work they undertook; they commenced their contracts very generally in January, 1852, and on the first of January, 1853, without the aid of a single dollar from the treasury of the company, but relying entirely upon their own credit and means, their united labor amounted to \$500,000, which, carried to the credit of their stock subscription, fulfilled the second condition of the subscription on the part of the State and brought her in as a partner in the great enterprise. This (coupling the subscription of a million of dollars by individuals, chiefly farmers, and working out a half a million on their own resources) is an achievement unprecedented in the annals of the public works of this or any other country, and wherever known (and it ought to be published everywhere) will disabuse the public mind and vindicate the energy, enterprise and industry of the citizens of the State. I have repeatedly said publicly, and perceiving no impropriety in it, I avail myself of this occasion to say that in my experience, now exceeding thirty years, I have not found on any public work with which I have been connected a set of contractors more reliable than those with whom I have had to deal on the North Carolina Railroad, and none with whom my intercourse has been so pleasant and agreeable.

It is no small tribute to the wisdom and constructive genius of President Morehead to be able to say that, of all the contracts which, as president of the road, he had to make, the only one about which any controversy ever arose, or any charge of favoritism was ever made, was one

of the General Assembly, and the fact that it at last hung upon the decision of the Speaker of the Senate, and that its fate was decided in the affirmative by the unflinching 'Aye' of that Speaker, Calvin Graves,—he said that no other citizen of North Carolina could so appropriately perform the ceremony of removing the first earth in the commencement of this work on which the hopes of the State so vitally depend, as to the man who pronounced the decisive 'Aye.'

"It was impossible for us to catch the full connection of Mr. Graves' speech. Some sentences we heard, glowing with that patriotic feeling which has so long distinguished him as one of the first and best sons of old North Carolina. We could only judge generally of its effect by the waving of parasols and handkerchiefs among the ladies, and the frequent and hearty applause that arose from the inner ranks of the citizens.

"At the conclusion of Mr. Graves' speech he 'broke' ground on the Railroad by digging up and depositing in a box prepared for that purpose a few spadefuls of earth.

"Governor Morehead remarked that this was deposited in the box, to remain a hundred years, and then be reopened for our inspection! The crowd laughed at the ludicrousness of the idea and so did we. But it naturally awoke a graver thought. Before a tenth of a century shall pass, we dare say that numbers of those present will see the railroad cars swiftly traversing the spot where this interesting ceremony occurred. * * *

"The annual meeting of stockholders closed on Friday morning. Nothing of importance was done during the afternoon sitting. * * * The apprehension felt by a few that something fatal to the road would happen at this meeting was very agreeably dissipated. Conciliation and harmony, and a disposition to prosecute the enterprise with all power to a successful termination marked the proceedings."—*The Raleigh Register*, July 16, 1851.

which the State Directors, for partisan political purposes, took out of his hands and referred for settlement to a committee of their own choosing.²⁷

The North Carolina Railroad was only one link in the great State system which Morehead contemplated. As he himself expressed it this system was to include "one great leading trunk line of railway from the magnificent harbor of Beaufort to the Tennessee line." Writing in 1866, he attributed the conception of this scheme to Joseph Caldwell and Judge Gaston, adding:

Charter after charter, by the influence of these great men, was granted to effect the work, but the gigantic work was thought to be too much for the limited means the State and her citizens could then command, and the charters remain monuments of *their* wisdom and our folly, or inability to carry them out. A more successful plan it is hoped was finally adopted—to do this great work by sections. The North Carolina Railroad * * * was the first [section] undertaken.²⁸

The other sections were to be built between Goldsboro and Beaufort

²⁷This controversy was an incident in one of the most memorable events in Governor Morehead's career. Before the passage of the act to charter the North Carolina Railroad Company, the people of the Central section of the State had asked the Legislature to charter a company to build a railroad from Charlotte to Danville, Va. The people of the East opposed this charter, and in 1849 its advocates accepted in its place the railroad from Charlotte to Goldsboro. Nearly ten years passed, therefore, before anything more was heard of the Danville Connection. In 1858 the advocates of the Danville Connection again brought forward their scheme, and asked for a charter for a company to build a road, without any aid from the State, to connect the North Carolina Railroad at Greensboro with the Richmond and Danville at Danville. The bill was introduced in the House of Commons in 1858 by Francis L. Simpson, of Rockingham, but everybody understood that it was in reality Governor Morehead's bill and he was its principal champion. The members from the East, supported by the Raleigh Register and the Raleigh Standard, immediately assailed the project as inimical to the interests of the North Carolina Railroad. The debate continued several days. It was participated in by some of the ablest debaters in the State, and was extended to embrace the whole subject and history of the State's policy toward railroads. Governor Morehead's administration of the affairs of the North Carolina Railroad was bitterly assailed. He was charged with mismanagement and with a breach of faith and betrayal of the interests of the State, his opponents claiming that, while soliciting subscriptions to stock in the North Carolina Railroad Company, he had expressly promised to abandon forever all advocacy of the Danville Connection. No more formidable attack, perhaps, has ever been made on any public man in the history of North Carolina. Arrayed against Morehead, besides the two newspapers mentioned, were Robert R. Bridgers, of Edgecombe; W. T. Dortch, of Wayne; Pride Jones and John W. Norwood, of Orange, and Dennis D. Ferebee, of Camden, and others scarcely less distinguished for ability. Morehead's defence is still remembered as one of the really great forensic triumphs in our history. Mr. J. S. F. Baird, who represented Buncombe County in that Legislature, and who was not of Governor Morehead's political faith, under date of April 29, 1912, writes of the contest:

"After the lapse of fifty-four years it is impossible for me to recall many of the incidents of the debate but this much I do remember, that Colonel Bridgers' attack on Governor Morehead was futile and did the Governor no harm, for he vindicated himself in the most thorough manner."

Two other members who themselves participated in the debate have left their testimony. John Kerr, of Rockingham County, said of Morehead's defence:

"Never was a more brilliant victory won than he achieved that day. His assailants were driven from all their positions, were pursued and routed, 'horse, foot and dragoons' * * * They were *strong men*, and the House felt the shock of battle while the conflict lasted. But when he closed his defence his assailants bore the air of deep dejection and discomfiture. The House was enraptured with the display of power on the part of Governor Morehead, and no further charges were heard against him." Hon. Thomas Settle said: "For a time the attack seemed overwhelming, and Governor Morehead's friends feared that he would not be able to repel it. For five days he sat and received it in silence, but when he arose and as he proceeded with his defence, friend, foe, and everybody else was struck with amazement. We could scarcely realize that any man possessed such powers of argument and eloquence. His vindication was so complete that his assailants openly acknowledged it." Mr. C. S. Wooten, who did not hear the debate but remembers the impression it created in the State at the time, says of Morehead's effort: "I know of but one other instance in American history that can parallel Morehead's fight and that was when Benton, solitary and alone, made his fight against Calhoun, Clay and Webster in favor of his resolution expunging from the records of the Senate the resolution censuring General Jackson. There never has been such another instance in the history of the State of such moral courage, such heroic firmness, and such a grand exhibition of iron nerve." In the heat of the contest the Danville Connection was almost forgotten in the attack on Morehead. The former was defeated by a strictly sectional vote; but Morehead achieved, according to all testimony, both contemporary and subsequent, a great personal triumph. The newspaper reports of the debate are too meager to give one anything like an adequate idea of the speeches on either side.

²⁸Letter to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Co. Proceedings of the Seventeenth Annual Meeting, July 17, 1866.

and between Salisbury and the Tennessee boundary. In accordance with this plan the Legislature, in 1853, incorporated "The Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company," and "The North Carolina and Western Railroad Company," to which Governor Morehead referred as "the contemplated extensions of the North Carolina Railroad." Immediately after the passage of these acts, Governor Reid ordered President Morehead and the Directors of the North Carolina Railroad to make the necessary surveys. In an open letter to the Greensboro *Patriot*, Governor Morehead said of this order:

I desire to give this pleasing intelligence to the friends of these enterprises, through your valuable paper, with an assurance that the work will be commenced at as early a day as practicable. * * * Not a moment is to be lost. The deep, deep regret is that these extensions are not now in full progress of construction. The giant strides of improvement around us should arouse us to action. The ignominious and pusillanimous complaint that Nature has done so little for us is a libel upon the old dame. Let us see if it is not. * * * We have at the eastern terminus of one of these extensions one of the finest harbors, at Beaufort, for all commercial purposes, on the whole Atlantic coast. And if the improvements at the mouth of Cape Fear shall succeed, as it is hoped they will, we shall have another port surpassed by few, if any, in the South. * * * But it may be asked, what commerce have we to require such a port as Beaufort? Let the answer be, the commerce of the world. Look at the location of this port—placed at the end of the North Carolina coast, which projects like a promontory into the Atlantic, midway and within sight of the great line of navigation between the North and the South, and within thirty minutes' sail of the ocean. Nature made it for a stopping place of commerce—the halfway house between the North and the South, where steamers may get their supplies of anthracite, semi-bituminous and bituminous coal. * * * But let us take a western view of these extensions. The road running from Beaufort along the Central Railroad [the North Carolina Railroad] and to the Tennessee line and thence along the lines already in progress of construction to Memphis will not vary one degree from a due west course. Extend the same line westward (and I predict it will surely be done) to the city of San Francisco, which is to become the great emporium of the East India trade, and who can doubt that the trade of the Mississippi Valley, as well as that of the East Indies and China, will crowd our port.²⁹

Under Morehead's supervision, the work of both the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, and the Western North Carolina Railroad was inaugurated.³⁰ On June 17, 1858, the former was completed and

²⁹Raleigh Register, June 25, 1843.

³⁰Morehead was the pioneer in developing our system of internal improvements and was the leading spirit in the building of the North Carolina Railroad. He was President for four years of the Central Road and was the Chief Contractor in building the road from Morehead City to New Bern. * * * Badger was an abler lawyer, Bragg a more astute reasoner, Graham more polished and graceful, but Morehead, as a man of affairs, for broad scope and grasp of intellect, for vigor of thought, for practical common sense, for managing vast financial enterprises, was greater than either. He could stuff his pants in his boot legs, splash through the mud and build railroads while the others would rather recline in easy chairs in some cosy office and attend to their law practice, discuss literature, or talk on social topics. While building the road from New Bern to Morehead, I have seen him dressed as I have described, and his boots besmeared with the red mud of Guilford County."—C. S. Wooten.

ready for trains from Goldsboro to Beaufort Harbor; and a few months thereafter found trains running over the latter to within four miles of Morganton, while the entire route to the Tennessee line had been surveyed and partly graded. In 1866 a bill drawn in accordance with the original plan, was introduced in the Senate to consolidate these two roads and the North Carolina Railroad under the name of "The North Carolina Railroad Company." Morehead, now approaching the end of his long and useful career, strongly endorsed and supported this measure. One of his last public utterances was an appeal to the stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company to throw their powerful influence in favor of the consummation of the great plans for which he had given the best service of his life. After giving a brief résumé of the railroad work done in the State he said:

Here let us pause and take a survey of what has been done in *seven* years towards this great work. From Beaufort harbor to Goldsboro the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad Company have built ninety-six miles. From Goldsboro to Charlotte you (the North Carolina Railroad) have built two hundred and twenty-three miles. From Salisbury to within four miles of Morganton the Western North Carolina Railroad have built seventy-six miles * * * making in all three hundred and ninety-five miles, from which deduct forty-three miles from Salisbury to Charlotte, and we have actually built of this great line three hundred and fifty-two miles in one continuous line. Think of it! Seven years! In the lifetime of a State or nation seven years is but as a moment in its existence. It would not cover the dawning of its existence. In the great day of a nation's improvements seven years would not be the sunrise of that day. We have done this great work in the twilight of our great day of internal improvement—a day which dawned so beautifully upon us, but which became enveloped in that gloom which shrouds the nation in mourning. But let us not despair. The day which dawned so beautifully upon us will yet reach its meridian splendor. Then let us be up and doing * * * and then the hopes, the dreams of the great and good Caldwell and Gaston will be realized. * * * You have the honor of being the pioneers in this great work executed in sections. Do yourselves now the honor to consolidate the whole and complete the original design. You, the most powerful and most independent of the three corporations, can, with much grace, propose to your sister corporations consolidations upon terms of justice and equity manifesting selfishness in naught but your name. Yield not that. The new consolidated corporation should be still "The North Carolina Railroad Company." This will be a corporation worthy of you, of your State, and of the great destinies that await it.²¹

What this great destiny was no man had foreseen so clearly as he. The traveler of 1912 along the line of the North Carolina Railroad sees the fulfilment of Morehead's dreams of 1850. He finds himself in one of the most productive regions of the new world. He traverses it from one end to the other at a speed of forty miles an hour, surrounded

²¹Letter of July 17, 1866, to the Stockholders of the North Carolina Railroad Company.

by every comfort and convenience of modern travel. He passes through a region bound together by a thousand miles of steel rails, by telegraph and telephone lines, and by nearly two thousand miles of improved country roads. He finds a population engaged not only in agriculture, but in manufacturing, in commerce, in transportation, and in a hundred other enterprises. Instead of a few old fashioned handlooms turning out annually less than \$400,000 worth of "homemade" articles, he hears the hum of three hundred and sixty modern factories, operating two millions of spindles and looms by steam, water, electricity, employing more than fifty millions of capital, and sending their products to the uttermost ends of the earth. His train passes through farm lands that, since Morehead began his work, have increased six times in value, that produce annually ten times as much cotton and seventy-five times as much tobacco. From his car window instead of the four hundred and sixty-six log huts that passed for schoolhouses in 1850, with their handful of pupils, he beholds a thousand modern schoolhouses, alive with the energy and activity of one hundred thousand school children. His train carries him from Goldsboro through Raleigh, Durham, Burlington, Greensboro, High Point, Lexington, Salisbury, Concord, Charlotte,—villages that have grown into cities, old fields and cross roads that have become thriving centers of industry and culture. Better than all else, he finds himself among a people, no longer characterized by their lethargy, isolation and ignorance, but bristling with energy, alert to every opportunity, fired with the spirit of the modern world, and with their faces steadfastly set toward the future.

The foundation on which all this prosperity and progress rests is the work done by John M. Morehead or inspired by him. No well informed man can be found today in North Carolina who will dispute his primacy among the railroad builders of the State. The North Carolina Railroad, the Atlantic and North Carolina Railroad, the Western North Carolina Railroad, the connecting link between the North Carolina and the Richmond and Danville railroads from Greensboro to Danville, all bear witness of his supremacy in this field. In one of the finest passages of his message to the General Assembly in 1842 he urged the building of good country roads; today there are five thousand miles of improved rural highways in North Carolina. He recommended the building of a Central Highway from Morehead City through Raleigh to the Tennessee line; today we have just witnessed the completion of a great State Highway piercing the very heart of the State almost along the very route he suggested seventy years ago. He suggested plans for extensive improvements of our rivers and harbors; today a "thirty foot channel to the sea" has become the slogan of our chief port and the National Government is

spending annually hundreds of thousands of dollars in the improvement of the Cape Fear, the Neuse, the Pamlico and other rivers of Eastern North Carolina. He urged the construction by the National Government of an inland waterway for our coastwise vessels through Pamlico Sound to Beaufort harbor; seventy years have passed since then, this enterprise has become national in its scope, the Federal Government has assumed charge of it, and the whole nation is anticipating the completion in the near future of an inland waterway from Maine through Pamlico Sound and Beaufort Harbor to Florida. First of all our statesmen Morehead realized the possibility of establishing at Beaufort a great world port; and although this dream has not yet been realized there are not lacking today men noted throughout the business world for their practical wisdom, inspired by no other purpose than commercial success, who have not hesitated to stake large fortunes on the ultimate realization of this dream also. A twentieth century statesman sent before his time into the world of the nineteenth century, Governor Morehead, as a distinguished scholar has declared, "would have been more at home in North Carolina today than would any other of our antebellum governors. He has been dead forty years, and they have been years of constant change and unceasing development. But so wide were his sympathies, so vital were his aims, so far sighted were his public policies, and so clearly did he foresee the larger North Carolina of schools, railroads and cotton mills, that he would be as truly a contemporary in the twentieth century as he was a leader in the nineteenth."²

²See sketch by C. Alphonso Smith in the "Biographical History of North Carolina," Vol. 2, pp. 250-59.

ADDRESS OF PRESENTATION

BY J. BRYAN GRIMES, CHAIRMAN OF THE NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORICAL COMMISSION.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is the good fortune of the North Carolina Historical Commission to be able to offer to the State a marble bust of Governor John Motley Morehead, a memorial gift from his grandsons, J. Lindsay Patterson and John Motley Morehead. Governor Morehead's career has been so ably and amply reviewed by Mr. Connor that it is unnecessary to recount his many services to his State. He was one of those remarkable men who left an indelible impression upon his people, and we should hold his memory in most grateful esteem. Far sighted beyond his time, he saw the needs of his State with seerlike wisdom, and with rare acumen he planned a great industrial commonwealth, and his popularity and power over the people enabled him to put into operation policies whose influence was far reaching and whose benefits are still accruing. Plans that might have been regarded as the dream of a visionist, under his master mind and great executive ability became realities. His administration was distinguished for the development of commerce, agriculture, the growth of the common schools and the establishment of an institution for the deaf and dumb and blind, but it was most famed for the great system of internal improvements with which his name is inseparably linked. His greatest achievement was the building of a trunk line of railroad from the mountains to the sea—from Morganton to Morehead City. He was the father of its development and was its first president.

This road is the State's greatest single financial asset, valued today at more than \$7,000,000 and built without a cent of taxation of the people. The North Carolina Railroad as planned by him to connect the Mississippi with the Atlantic at Beaufort Harbor was one of the greatest projects of the middle of the last century. His heart and brain were absorbed in uniting the East with the West, establishing a community of interest and making a homogeneous people, bound together with ties of steel. Its inestimable service in acquainting the sections and unifying our people have been its greatest value to our State. Its worth can hardly be overestimated.

Mr. Joyner, to you, representing the State, I, as Chairman of the North Carolina Historical Commission, have the honor to offer a bust of this master builder and great constructive statesman, John Motley Morehead.

ADDRESS OF ACCEPTANCE

BY J. Y. JOYNER, SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

To me has been assigned, in the absence of the Governor, the pleasant duty of accepting, on behalf of the State of North Carolina, this marble bust of John Motley Morehead.

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." This man whose memory we are met to honor today, is *facile princeps* among North Carolina's great leaders of those silent revolutions by which alone are won the greatest victories of peace.

Father and builder of the North Carolina Railroad, pioneer manufacturer, promoter of inland waterways and public highways, successful champion of public education and of charitable institutions, able advocate of all that was best industrially, morally, and intellectually for his people, gifted with the vision and enthusiasm that characterizes every truly great soul, endowed with common sense, wisdom, courage, force of character, strength of will and devotion to duty that made him a great leader and a great executive in public and private business, he has won and merited his place in North Carolina history among "the few, the immortal names that were not born to die." His bust deserves this honored niche in the Westminster Abbey of our State.

As his tongue was the first to proclaim from the granite halls of this Capitol North Carolina's declaration of commercial and industrial freedom, and to point the way thereto, may the spirit of the man, incarnate in this sculptured image, speak, trumpet-tongued, through these marble lips to the countless generations of noble youth that reverently pause before it, and hearten them for high endeavor and noble achievement.

In the name of the people of the State that he served with such distinguished ability, I now accept, with gratitude to the donors, this artistic image of one of her greatest Governors and noblest sons.

A SPRIG OF ENGLISH OAK

Lieutenant Colonel Wilson Webster, of His Majesty's 33d Regiment of Foot, 1781

BY REBECCA CAMERON.

One of the stories which I never wearied hearing my mother tell, was of the gallant and unfortunate Colonel Webster, of the English Army, who died in consequence of a wound received at the battle of Guilford Court House, in 1781; and was buried at Bellefont, in Bladen County; the residence of my mother's uncle-in-law, Major Hugh Waddell.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wilson Webster was one of the most brilliant and attractive figures in the army of Lord Cornwallis during his campaign in North Carolina. The son of a clergyman—the Reverend Dr. Webster, of Edinburgh,—he united to a thorough knowledge of the profession of arms all the graces and virtues of civil life, extreme personal beauty, and the most daring and conspicuous gallantry.

The following story of his courage and coolness is still told in the farm houses in Alamance.

Lord Cornwallis left Hillsborough on the 26th of February, 1781, and moving his forces southward, encamped on the fertile Alamance. On the 6th of March, he made a move to entrap that wary and remarkable officer, Colonel Otho Williams, of Maryland.

In the manœuvres that followed, a circumstance occurred which gave great *eclat* to an English officer.

Above thirty picked King's Mountain riflemen were ambushed in Wetzell's Mill, on Reedy Fork. They saw a British officer, mounted on a beautiful black horse, slowly approach the bank of the stream, and carefully ford the

current, apparently busied with directing the movements of a detachment of soldiers.

He was in fair rifle range all the time; and these picked men, all of whom could cut a hair at ordinary rifle distance, took deliberate aim at him, and fired thirty shots without striking either man or horse!

The officer showed no atom of fear, quietly sitting on his horse in mid-stream, while the rifle balls hissed all around him; and when the operations he was superintending were finished, as quickly riding away.

I remember hearing that one man said he was so amazed at Webster's not being struck by any of the balls, that he began to have a superstitious feeling about him, and when he fired his last shot at him, his hand was shaking so that he had to rest his rifle on one of the timbers of the mill; and even then, firing from a rest, saw his bullet fall short of the mark for which it had been aimed.

Upon asking some prisoners which officer rode a black horse in the affair at Wetzell's Mill, the reply was that it was the gallant and chivalrous Lieutenant Colonel Wilson Webster of the 33d, one of Lord Cornwallis's favorite officers. At the battle of Guilford Court House (fought March 15th, 1781) Webster commanded the 33d and 23d regiments, and opened the battle, leading his men right across an open, rolling field, as if he bore a charmed life against shot and shell, and hurling them impetuously upon the gallant 1st Maryland, whose exploits at the Cowpens the English had not forgotten, for they recoiled at their deadly fire, and gave way before the Maryland advance.

Webster, who had been severely wounded in the right knee at the first fire, rallied his men in a skirt of woods, and gallantly came back to the charge, finally routing the Marylanders with great loss, and saving the field to the British arms.

He had given his life for the day, however, for the wound he had received, although not considered fatal at first, was destined to terminate his brilliant career. He fainted on being taken from his horse, and his boot was found full of blood.

Cornwallis had his wounded moved by easy stages towards Wilmington so as to have them taken aboard his ships.

It was slow journeying over rough country, and Webster's wound, which had shattered the patella, or knee pan, took on violent inflammation, and he became so ill that on reaching Bladen County he could go no farther, and was quartered with his attendants at Bellefont, the residence of Major Hugh Waddell (who, still a minor, was then absent at an English University). Here he grew rapidly worse, and lock-jaw ensuing, he died in great agony three weeks after the battle.

He was buried on the Bellefont plantation, a mile from the dwelling house, and perhaps the same distance from Elizabethtown,—the post town and court-house of Bladen County.

* * *

The war was ended, thirty years of peace had cooled the fierce anger of the outraged colonists. Many of the victors and vanquished had "died in their beds like good Christians," and a new generation had arisen to inherit the memories, but not the animosities of the late internecine strife. Judge Alfred Moore—who as Captain Moore had shared the dangers of the Guilford battlefield—died strangely enough, as the gallant Webster had done, at Bellefont, on his way to his winter residence at Buchoi, near Wilmington.

Dying on the 15th of October, 1810, his remains were temporarily interred at Bellefont until such time as they could be removed to the family vault at Buchoi. It was decided to make the removal in the spring of 1812, and a party

of gentlemen composed of the immediate family, connections, and personal friends of the late Judge left Wilmington and made one day's drive towards Bellefont, stopping for the night at Newfields, the residence of Mr. John Waddell, who had married Judge Moore's beloved and only niece, General Frank Nash's daughter, Sallie. The party consisted of the following gentlemen: Judge Moore's two sons, Colonel Maurice Moore, of Springfield, and Alfred Moore, of Buchoi; his family physician, and friend, Dr. A. J. DeRosset, of Wilmington; Judge John D. Thomas, Major Duncan Moore, and John R. London, also of Wilmington; Captain Jack Grange, of The Grange, and Mr. John Waddell, of Newfields. The Newfields plantation is twenty-seven miles from Wilmington, and on the Cape Fear river.

During the evening, my grandfather, Mr. Alfred Moore, read aloud to the company from a copy of the *European Magazine* an account of the death and burial of Colonel Webster, thirty years before, at the Bellefont plantation.

The article excited a great deal of interest and comment, especially when someone present stated that it was currently reported that a Dr. Morse, living at Elizabethtown, had disinterred the remains, articulated the skelton, and then had it in his office. This story (although absolutely without foundation) so aroused the ire and indignation of the fiery Colonel Maurice Moore, that he exclaimed vehemently:

"If Dr. Morse has done this thing I will cut both his ears off!"

Fortunately, Dr. Morse had not committed the atrocity, so the impetuous colonel did not have to amputate his ears.

To determine the truth of the matter, however, the gentlemen decided to make search for Colonel Webster's forgotten grave, and investigate the condition of his remains. The

next morning they took boats, and accompanied by Mr. John Waddell, were rowed up the Cape Fear river to Bellefont.

It was remembered in the family that Colonel Webster had been waited upon during his last illness by one of Major Waddell's family servants, a negro man named Lisburne. (This name had been given him by General Hugh Waddell, the Major's father, it being the name of the post town, on or near General Waddell's family estate in Ireland.)

"Old Lisburne," as he was then called in contradistinction to his son and grandson of the same name—was summoned, and, upon being questioned, gave a succinct account of Colonel's Webster's last hours, the preparation of his body for burial, and the exact location of the grave.

The next morning, under Lisburne's guidance the company started on their search, and about a mile from the house, on a wooded hill came to the spot where Lisburne said the grave had been made. Thirty years had passed since the April day when the gallant young Englishman had resigned his soul to the God who gave it, and had been laid to his long, dreamless sleep beneath alien skies, and the rapid growth of a Southern forest had hidden the mound beneath a cunning network of vines and shrubs.

Two axe hands had been brought along, and in a short while the undergrowth was all cleared away, and the mossy, leaf-strown earth bared to view.

"Here is the grave, sir, right here," said old Lisburne. One of the gentlemen took an iron ramrod and sunk it down in the soft rich loam at the point indicated by Lisburne, and after one or two trials succeeded in striking what seemed to be a box or coffin.

The earth was carefully removed, and the coffin presently laid bare once more to the blessed light of day. It was in perfect preservation, and was carefully lifted out of the grave, and some of the gentlemen present proceeded to re-

move the top. The description of what followed I give, as nearly as I can recall, in the words of my grandfather's oldest daughter, the late Mrs. Hugh Waddell, who had been allowed to accompany the party:

"It was a beautiful spring day; the wreaths of yellow jessamine now festooning every tree and shrub with their fragrant blossoms; countless butterflies and bees added their bright wings and cheery hum to the sense of life and joyousness that was thrilling the vernal air.

"A mocking-bird was singing in a jessamine vine just above the open grave; and singing as if all joy and life beat in his small heart. The gay, brilliant revelry of song, gay mockery of the open grave, fascinated my childish gaze until a sudden exclamation: 'Good God! How very extraordinary!' caused me to look round.

"I saw my dear father's eyes fill up with sudden tears, as he lifted his hat, and reverently bent his head before the Majesty of Death. All eyes were bent upon the open coffin, wherein was a sight I shall never forget.

"The coffin had been uncovered, and lying within it was the rather small but elegant figure of a young and exceedingly handsome man, of apparently twenty-eight years of age. He was dressed in the gorgeous scarlet uniform of a British officer, his beautiful abundant dark brown hair was dressed in a queue, the powder still resting lightly upon its glossy dark masses; his face was pale, calm, and beautiful. The face of a sleeping youth would not have been more tranquil, or sweeter than that of the dead soldier, who had slept within the heart of Mother Earth for full thirty years.

"Upon his heart lay his cocked hat and gloves; upon his small delicate feet were a pair of riding boots well polished, with a pair of gold spurs buckled on the heels. The glitter of his epaulettes, and the gold lace on his uniform was as brilliant as if freshly burnished. Had he just dressed

himself for morning parade, and lain down to sleep he could not have been a more life-like, or more beautiful picture. The silence was intense for a few minutes, then slowly as we gazed a sort of film or veil-like mist seemed to rise between us and the sleeping hero, and in a moment the beauteous counterpart of life dissolved before our very gaze, a little handful of grey ashes settled in the coffin, and the gallant and beautiful Webster was but a poor handful of immaterial dust."

* * *

Out of the coffin was taken two copper coins that had been used to close the eyes; the rifleball that had shattered the knee pan, and ranged upward in the limb; a lock of the beautiful rich brown hair, and the gold spurs. These articles were given to the British consul—a Mr. Manning, I believe—at Wilmington, to be transmitted to Colonel Webster's surviving friends. The coffin was closed, and replaced in the grave; my grandfather reciting the commitment sentence of the burial service as it was being once more resigned into the custody of the common mother of us all. The grave was filled and turfed, and my grandfather had a pillar of heart pine hewed and erected at the head of the grave to mark the spot in case any of his family should desire to reclaim the ashes of the gallant dead.

But the outbreak of the war of 1812 or some other cause hindering, no claim for the remains was ever made; and the noble young warrior still sleeps in an exile's tomb in the land that gave him an enemy's welcome, but a soldier's grave.

It was said that Colonel Webster was engaged to be married to a lovely and accomplished young Englishwoman, who died of a broken heart a few years after his death.

The following verses written by my grandfather, shortly after the events herein described, may be of some interest in connection with the foregoing narrative.

ODE

WRITTEN BY A. MOORE, WHILST SITTING AT THE GRAVE OF LIEUTENANT-COLONEL WEBSTER OF THE 33^d REGIMENT, JUNE, 1812.

Thy war cry is done, in the stillness of death;
The trumpet's shrill sound, or morning's first breath,
Alike are unheeded by thee.
Thy last pang is o'er, and that spirit so high,
Which rose all on fire when danger was nigh,
From care and from pain is set free.

Wild and chill blow the winter winds over thy grave,
And loud wars the stream as it dashes its wave
At the foot of the hill where ye lay;
Night's stillness is broke by the wolf's savage howl,
Respondent, the low solemn note of the owl,
Till silenced by wakening day.

Though far from thy home, and no mother's dear hand
Dressed thy wound, and then tenderly tightened the band,
Or wiped the death damps from thy brow—
O'er thy grave waves the pine, and the firefly's lamp
Burns around it the brighter in darkness and damp,
And hallows thine ashes e'en now.

Brave foe of my country, and pride of thy race,
Who the red glare of battle so oft looked in the face,
Whiles thou cheered up thy faltering band,
Accept from the son of thy foeman a tear,
A Hail! to thy spirit, if lingering near,
A sepulchre raised by his hand.

BELLEFONT, *June, 1812.*

A. MOORE.

THE FIRST ALBEMARLE ASSEMBLY—HALL'S CREEK, NEAR NIXONTON

By CATHERINE ALBERTSON.

(Regent Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter D. R.)

In 1663 King Charles II granted to eight noblemen of his court a tract of land reaching from the northern shores of Albemarle Sound to the St. John's River, in Florida, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific Ocean. A small strip extending from the north shore of Albemarle Sound to the southern boundary of Virginia was not included in this grant, but nevertheless the lords proprietors, of whom Governor Berkeley, of Virginia, was one, assumed control over this section, and in 1663 these noblemen authorized Berkeley to appoint a governor to rule over this territory, whose ownership was a disputed question for several years.

In 1665 this Albemarle region, as it came to be called, comprising the four ancient counties, Currituck, Pasquotank, Perquimans and Chowan, had become very valuable on account of the rich plantations established therein by such men as George Durant, of Perquimans, and Valentine Byrd, of Pasquotank, and the lords proprietors, as the ownership of Carolina were called, begged the king to include this strip of land in their grant. This the king did, ignorant of the vast extent of the territory which he had already bestowed upon the lords.

William Drummond, whom Berkeley, of Virginia, had appointed to govern this Albemarle country, came into Carolina in 1664 and assumed the reins of government. To assist him in his arduous duties, the lords authorized Berkeley to appoint six of the most prominent men in the new settlement to form what came to be known as the governor's council. This body of men, with the governor, acted for many

years as the judicial department of state, and also corresponded to what is now the Senate chamber in our legislative department.

That the liberty loving pioneers in Carolina might feel that they were a self-governing people, every freeman in the settlement was to have right of membership in the General Assembly, which was to meet yearly to enact the laws. After the governor, councilors and the freemen or their deputies had passed the laws, a copy of them was to be sent to the lords for their consideration. Should they meet with the approval of the proprietors they went into effect; if not, they were null and void.

In the fall of 1664, Governor Drummond began organizing the government of his new province. And on February 6th, 1665, the "Grand Assembly of Albemarle," as these early lawmakers styled themselves, met to frame a set of laws for this Albemarle colony.

The place chosen for the meeting of this first legislative body ever essembled in our State, was a little knoll overlooking Hall's Creek, in Pasquotank County, about a mile from Nixonton, a small town which was chartered nearly a hundred years later.

No record of the names of the hardy settlers who were present at this Grand Assembly has been handed down to us, but on such an important occasion we may be sure that all the prominent men in the Albemarle region who could attend would make it a point to do so.

Governor Drummond and his secretary, Thomas Woodward, were surely there; George Durant, Samuel Pricklove, John Harvey, all owners of great plantations in Perquimans, doubtless were on hand. Thomas Relfe, Timothy Biggs, Valentine Byrd, Solomon Poole, all large landowners in Pasquotank, must have been present; Thomas Jarvis, of Currituck, and Timothy Biggs, of Chowan, may have repre-

sented their counties. And all, the dignified, reserved Scotch governor, his haughty secretary, the wealthy, influential planters and the humble farmers and hunters must have felt the solemnity of the occasion and recognized its importance.

We may imagine the scene. Under the spreading boughs of a lordly oak, this group of men were gathered. Around them the dark forest stretched, the wind murmuring among the pines, and fragrant with the aromatic odor of the spicy needles. At a little distance, a group of red men, silent and immovable, some with bow and arrow in hand, leaning against the trees, others sitting on the ground, gazed with wondering eyes upon the pale-faces assembled for their first great pow-wow.

Down at the foot of the knoll the silver waters of the creek rippled softly against the shore, on its waters the sloops of the planters from the settlements near by, here and there on its bosom an Indian canoe moored close to its shores.

As to the work accomplished by this first Albemarle Assembly, only one fact is certain, and that is, the drawing up by the members of a petition to the Lords Proprietors, begging that these settlers in Carolina should be allowed to hold their lands on the same conditions and terms as the people in Virginia. The Lords graciously consented to this petition, and on the 1st of May, 1668, they issued a paper known to this day as the Deed of Grant, by which land in Albemarle was directed to be granted on the same terms as in Virginia. The Deed was duly recorded in Albemarle, and was preserved with scrupulous care.

There is a tradition in the country that the assembly also took steps for preparing for an Indian war then threatening, which broke out the following year, but was soon suppressed.

Doubtless other laws were enacted such as were necessary for the settlement, though no record of them is extant. And then the business that called them together having been

transacted, and the wheels of government set in motion, these early lawmakers returned home, to manor house and log cabin, to the care of the great plantations, to the plow and the wild, free life of the hunter and trapper; and a new government had been born.

There seems to be no doubt in the minds of such historians as Colonel Saunders, Captain Ashe, D. H. Hill, Martin, Wheeler, et al., that the first Albemarle assembly did convene in the early spring of 1665. As for the day and the month, tradition alone is our authority. An old almanac of Henry D. Turner's gives the date as February 6, and in default of any more certain dates, this was inscribed upon the tablet which the Sir Walter Raleigh Chapter Daughters of the Revolution have erected at Hall's Creek church.

As to the statement that the place marked by the tablet was the scene of the meeting of our first assemblymen, tradition again is responsible. But such authorities as Captain Ashe and various members of the State Historical Commission accept the tradition as a fact. And old residents of Nixonton assert that their fathers and grandfathers handed the story down to them.

An extract from a letter from Captain Ashe, author of Ashe's History of North Carolina, to the regent of the local chapter Daughters of the Revolution may be of interest here:

"Yesterday I came across in the library at Washington this entry, made by the late Mrs. Frances Hill, widow of Secretary of State William Hill: 'I was born in Nixonton, March 14, 1789. Nixonton is a small town one mile from Hall's Creek, and on a little rise of ground from the bridge stood the big oak, where the first settlers of our county held their assembly.'"

Other documents in possession of the regent of our local chapter Daughters of the Revolution, go to show that the place and date as named on the tablet at Hall's Creek are

authentic, and that Pasquotank County may claim with truth the honor of having been the scene of the first meeting of "The Grand Assembly of Albemarle."

The Biographical Sketches will be continued in the April *Booklet*.

INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters of *the* Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"*The* North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication of great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. \$1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

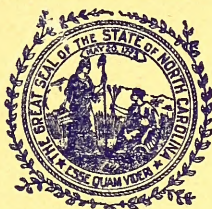
This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

Vol. XII

APRIL, 1913

No. 4

The North Carolina Booklet



GREAT EVENTS
IN
NORTH CAROLINA
HISTORY



PUBLISHED QUARTERLY
BY
THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION
RALEIGH, N. C.

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The North Carolina Booklet

Great Events in North Carolina History

VOLUME XIII of THE BOOKLET will be issued quarterly by the North Carolina Society, Daughters of the Revolution, beginning July, 1913. THE BOOKLET will be published in July, October, January, and April. Price \$1.00 per year, 35 cents for single copy.

EDITOR:

MISS MARY HILLIARD HINTON.

VOLUME XIII.

- General William Lee Davidson.....*Major William A. Graham*
Captain James Iredell Waddell.....*Captain S. A. Ashe*
Christmas at Buchoi, a North Carolina Rice Plantation,
Miss Rebecca Cameron
A Review of the History of the University of North Carolina,
Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.
Battle of Roanoke Island.
New Year Shooting—An Ancient German Custom,
Major William A. Graham
Fisheries in North Carolina.
An Old Graveyard in the Historic Town of Hillsboro,
Miss Anna Alexander Cameron
The Ku Klux—Part III.....*Professor J. T. Alderman*
Notes on Carolina Heraldica.....*Miss Mary Hilliard Hinton*
Nathaniel Macon.

Old letters, heretofore unpublished, bearing on the Social Life of the different periods of North Carolina's History, will appear hereafter in THE BOOKLET.

This list of subjects may be changed, as circumstances sometimes prevent the writers from keeping their engagements.

The histories of the separate counties will in the future be a special feature of THE BOOKLET. When necessary, an entire issue will be devoted to a paper on one county.

THE BOOKLET will print abstracts of wills prior to 1800, as sources of biography, history, and genealogy. Mrs. M. G. McCubbins will contribute abstracts of wills and marriage bonds in Rowan County to the coming volume. Similar data from other counties will be furnished.

Mrs. E. E. Moffitt has consented to edit the Biographical Sketches hereafter.

Parties who wish to renew their subscriptions to THE BOOKLET for Vol. XIII are requested to give notice at once.

Many numbers of Volumes I to XII for sale.

Vol. XII

APRIL, 1913

No. 4

The
NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

*"Carolina! Carolina! Heaven's blessings attend her!
While we live we will cherish, protect and defend her."*

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THE NORTH CAROLINA SOCIETY
DAUGHTERS OF THE REVOLUTION

The object of THE BOOKLET is to aid in developing and preserving North Carolina History. The proceeds arising from its publication will be devoted to patriotic purposes.

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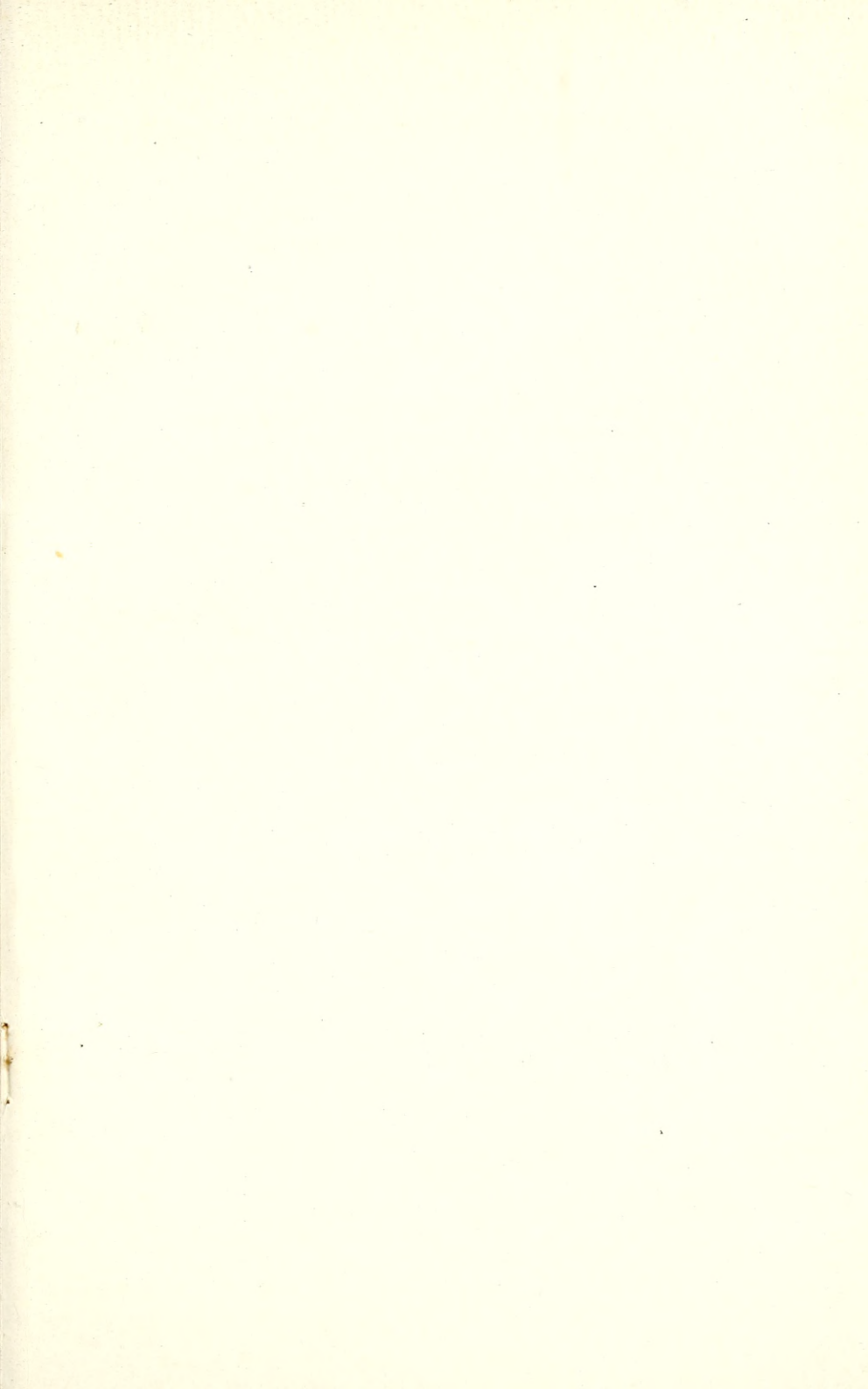
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WILLIAM GASTON'S OFFICE
Where He Wrote "Carolina," and Where He Died.
(From a pen drawing by Jaques Busbee.)

THE NORTH CAROLINA BOOKLET

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No. 4

MY GREAT AUNT AND "CAROLINA"

BY JAKUES BUSBEE.

She is very old now, my great aunt, Louisa Nora Taylor; and she sits with folded hands and faded vision in the room which she has been unable to leave for thirty-seven years. Aunt Lou has always been upstairs as far back as I can recollect. Only on very warm afternoons she pushes her little chair (with great difficulty) out on the balcony; for she is very lame.

We always said "The Balcony" as though it was a veritable Babylonian Hanging Garden. When the flowers from the greenhouse were carried upstairs by Aunt Lou's faithful old servant, Sally Williams, it was an event. Aunt Lou sat in her room and called out directions: "Sally, put the red hibiscus in the centre of the front railing, and put the two pots of calla lilies on either side. What is it you have brought up now? Well, put the red geraniums next the calla lilies, and bring up the tenellas next."

It was most exciting. I ran up and down stairs with small pots of apple geraniums and Chinese primrose, pale and spindly from their winter quarters; and Aunt Lou would call out as I passed her door, "Jaques, don't strain yourself."

How she loved flowers! For thirty-seven years her room has never been without them. She loved even vegetable blooms. Sometimes I'd bring her a squash bloom and ask her to guess what it was, and she would say, "Oh, isn't it beautiful? I have not seen one in years—not since I was lame." Sometimes it would be an okra flower. But Aunt Lou could always guess; you couldn't fool her.

How could we have lived without Aunt Lou! After breakfast when Sally Williams had cleaned up her room (just so many beats for the mattress and so many shakes for the feather bed, so many wipes for the mirror and so many cans of water for the flower pots on the balcony) we went up to Aunt Lou for our lessons: "Reading without Tears" and ciphering, and for the girls who came along later the rudiments of plain sewing.

In the evening, that dreary interim between the time it is too late to play out of doors and too early for supper (a joyous and welcomed time for us) Aunt Lou would read aloud to us, in her wonderfully sympathetic and dramatic voice. Sometimes it would be extracts from the "Arabian Nights" or Hans Christian Anderson's fairy tales. Sometimes we wept over the stories from Mary de Morgan's "On a Pincushion."

It never occurred to us to feel sorry for Aunt Lou when we were playing out of doors and she was singing all alone up in her room. She knew so many songs. She could sing anything. She often sang the "Old North State."

"I sang it when I was a girl, but people don't sing it quite right now," she would say. "You mustn't rise on the last notes. I know, for I was the first person who ever sang it."

But I liked some other songs she sang much better—"Of Late, So Sweetly Blowing, Lovely Rose," "Yes, it Comes at Last," "Lily Dale," and best of all

"She sat by the door one cold afternoon
To hear the wind blow and to look at the moon,
So pensive was Kathleen."

All this, however, is not the point at which Aunt Lou touches peripheries with State history. Ever so long ago she was a little girl, to whom for her body God made the amende honorable, and gave a voice—a clear, wonderful voice which she used with an unconscious birdlike sponta-

neity. Now and again some older man says to me, "You should have heard Miss Lou Taylor raise the tune in the Presbyterian church and lead the choir, in the days when church organs were unknown in Raleigh."

Of course I knew that Aunt Lou had been the first to sing the "Old North State" and that William Gaston had written it, but I had not listened with sufficient attention to remember the details; and so I went to her to hear again the origin of the song.

As I entered Aunt Lou's room, the Preacher was just leaving and she was telling him with circumstantial detail about her recent illness; of how I had nursed her and had sent in all haste for the doctor whom she declared she would not see.

"Of course I sent for a doctor," I put in. "When a woman who is eighty-nine years old takes her bed for the first time in thirty years, even though it be but a bad cold, it is high time to have a doctor."

"You did perfectly right," the Preacher made answer, and then said good morning.

As he closed the door—"Don't you volunteer to tell my age, sir," said my great-aunt. "It's none of your business. Keep your mouth shut unless you are asked point blank and then of course you could not tell a lie."

And just here I came near losing the story I started out to tell.

"But Aunt Lou, what about the way in which the 'Old North State' came to be written?" said I, ignoring her feminine rebuke.

"Oh, there is nothing to tell. Don't you remember? I was thirteen years old. We all went to the Town Hall to hear some Tyrolean singers. You know the State House was burned in June, '31, and the new building was not finished. Concerts and the like used to be held in Com-

mons Hall, but this was in some hall on Fayetteville street about where the present market stands. Uncle Gaston took mother, brother James and me, and I think Fanny Birdsall went too.

"Jaques, you are so stupid! Fanny Birdsall was Mr. Birdsall's daughter. He played beautifully on the flute and was clerk in the State Treasurer's office. He got us the music, before they left town, from the four brothers who sang the air—but that was afterwards.

"How do I know? It was all sung in German or some foreign tongue. At any rate I remembered one tune I thought very pretty, and next day was singing it and picking out an accompaniment on the piano when Uncle Gaston came into the parlor.

"Yes, the very same piano that was in the parlor before I was lame.

"Uncle Gaston said, 'Lou, that's a very pretty piece of music you're singing. What is it? You heard it last night at the concert? 'Twould make a nice national anthem or State Hymn.' And mother said, 'Uncle, couldn't you write some verses to fit that tune?'

"Yes, Jaques, I'd give them to you if I could find them, but they have been lost for a long time. I must have sent them to Isabel. Isabel Donaldson? Why she is Uncle Gaston's own granddaughter. Have you taken good care of those other verses I gave you that Uncle Gaston wrote for mother's scholars to sing on Mayday?

"Years later, Mary Devereux, you know I mean Mary Bayard Clarke, borrowed them to publish in a book she got up called 'Wood Notes.' But let me tell you about the song.

"Uncle came in from his office in the yard twice during the morning to see if he had the metre all right. When he came to dinner he had a paper in his hand. 'Lou,' he said, 'sing this over to see if the words fit the tune.' So Anne

(your dear grandmother) played an accompaniment on the piano and I sang it over and Uncle Gaston made two or three corrections.

"That's first rate," said Uncle Gaston. 'Eliza,' he said to mother, 'you must teach your scholars to sing it.'

"When Fanny Birdsall came around with her guitar we sang it over together. Fanny sang a beautiful alto. She also played exquisitely on the guitar. Afterwards, when Mr. Birdsall got the notes from the Tyroleans, we found that I had remembered the tune almost exactly.

"Mrs. Lucas, who boarded with Mrs. Stephen Haywood, taught her singing class in mother's school the new State Hymn; and Uncle Gaston seemed very much pleased.

"Mrs. Lucas? Jaques, you are so stupid! Mrs. Mary J. Lucas was Miss Susan Stuart's aunt. Yes, of course, that makes her Peter Casso's daughter. Oh, that was before my day. Peter Casso kept the tavern in front of the State House. Yes, it was on the corner of Fayetteville and Morgan streets on the east side of the street. He died when mother was a girl.

"Don't interrupt me. Next we sang Uncle Gaston's song at a church sociable. I sang the air, Fanny Birdsall sang the alto, and Mrs. Lucas' singing class sang the chorus. Afterwards, so many people wanted the notes that Mrs. Lucas, who gave music lessons and could write music, set it down and sent it to the North to have it published.

"After that, everybody sang it. Nowadays they won't sing it right. When they come to 'forever' they go up two notes and that is wrong. They should hold the same note and go up just one note at the end. But everybody seems to do as they please nowadays. They care nothing for old ways."

Raleigh, N. C., March 17, 1913.

NORTH CAROLINA AFTER THE REVOLUTION

BY MRS. GEORGIA WORTH MARTIN.

The time that North Carolina was out of the Union, the most critical period of her existence.—*Jones*.

GOVERNORS.

1782	Alexander Martin	Guilford
1784	Richard Caswell	Lenoir
1787	Samuel Johnston	Chowan
1789	Alexander Martin (again).....	Guilford
1792	Richard Dobbs Spaight.....	Craven

Cornwallis has surrendered. The English troops have been withdrawn from the country. Valley Forge, with its terrible suffering; Guilford Court House with its streams of blood; and the mad rush to victory at Crown Point, where two companies of North Carolinians formed the forlorn hope,¹ are left behind us. They are part of the price our fathers paid for the liberty which seems as natural to us as the air we breathe.

But it was left us as a birthright, to be watched carefully, and guarded jealously—for it was bought with blood.

From the day that the Barons forced King John to sign the Magna Charta, to the day when the men of Mecklenburg declared themselves independent of the British Crown, our race has rebelled against tyranny.

And now after centuries of struggle and bloodshed, the last bond that held us to an ancient monarchy is broken, and we have cast aside the iron hand that would reach across the sea and strangle Liberty. For the first time the Anglo-Saxon stands absolutely free to govern himself; and the whole world looks on to see how he will work out his destiny.

It is the year 1782. Alexander Martin sits in the Gov-

¹ Moore's School Hist., p. 122.

ernor's seat. The Treaty of Paris has been signed, and the soldiers have returned to ravaged fields, and a land that has been for years the scene of a fierce and cruel civil strife,¹ between the Whigs and Tories. But, great in peace as in war, they begin at once the work of building up their shattered fortunes, and bringing order out of this confusion.

Civil law resumes its sway, and might is no longer right. Equity jurisdiction is established by act of the Legislature, and Morganton is made a judicial district.²

North Carolina, restless and turbulent under foreign rule, becomes peaceful and law-abiding under the rule of her own people.³ And now arises the question of pay for the soldiers. There is very little money, even for the current expenses of the government; so the lands of refugee Tories are ordered to be sold, the proceeds to be used for paying the troops; and commissioners are appointed to sell them. The State lands lying west of the Alleghany Mountains are also largely devoted to this purpose.⁴

The people now devote themselves to cultivating their fields, and in developing the system of self-rule embodied in the Halifax Constitution of 1776.

So passes the year 1783.

1784 comes, and with it a new Governor, Richard Caswell, who is, according to Nathaniel Macon, one of the most powerful men that ever lived in this or any other country.⁵

This year also brings a call upon the generosity of the people. The General Government, sorely embarrassed by the war debt, proposes that those States owning vacant lands shall throw them into a common stock to be used in paying the common debt.⁶

¹ Caruthers, Vols. 1 and 2. Wheeler, p. 104.

² Wheeler, p. 104. ³ Bancroft, 2-158. ⁴ Moore's School Hist., p. 148. ⁵ Cotton, Life of Macon, p. 178. ⁶ Wheeler, Series I, p. 92.

North Carolina, considering herself bound in honor to assume part of this debt, responds at once, and the General Assembly at Hillsboro cedes to the Federal Government all the land lying west of the Alleghany Mountains not already granted to the soldiers and the actual settlers.¹

The Government, however, does not accept this magnificent gift, and the act authorizing it is repealed October, 1784.

But the offer to part with the land seriously endangers the peace of the young State.

The sturdy pioneers of the western territory, having with many hardships reclaimed the land from the savage Indian, view with much suspicion the act of 1784.² They send a messenger to the General Government asking that North Carolina's gift be accepted, and when the Government fails to take advantage of the offer, and the cession act is repealed, they determine to throw off the rule of North Carolina, and form a State of their own.

Therefore, in December of this year (1784) a Convention meets at Jonesboro, and forms a Constitution for the State of Frankland.³ This Constitution is ratified by a later Convention.

The year 1785 opens, and John Sevier, formerly a brave soldier of the Revolution, is chosen first Governor of Frankland. Other officers, both civil and military, are appointed.

Now the General Assembly of Frankland informs the Governor of North Carolina that the people of the counties of Washington, Sullivan and Greene (East Tennessee) have declared themselves independent of North Carolina.

Governor Caswell at once issues a proclamation denouncing the whole movement as unlawful, and warns the people of Frankland that North Carolina will put down this revolt, even at the expense of blood.

¹ Moore, p. 191. ² Wheeler, Series I, p. 92. ³ Wheeler, Series I, p. 93.

But the State of Frankland does not heed this warning, and proceeds to erect new counties, levy taxes, and exercise all the powers of a sovereign State.

Money is scarce in the new State,¹ so that the taxes are paid in "good flax linen; good, clean beaver skins; raccoon and fox skins; bacon, tallow, and good whiskey."

This gives rise to some humor at the expense of Frankland, it being said that the Governor and judges were paid with fox skins, and the sheriff and constables with mink skins.

Yet even this primitive currency is extensively counterfeited by sewing raccoon tails to opossum skins, opossum skins being worthless and abundant, and raccoon skins having a price fixed by law.

Meantime the General Assembly of North Carolina meets at New Bern and passes an act to bury in oblivion the conduct of the Franklanders, provided they return to their allegiance. They next direct that elections shall be held for members to the Assembly of North Carolina, and appoint civil and military officers for the revolting territory.

1786 presents a strange state of affairs. Two states are extending authority at the same time over the same territory and the same people. Courts are held by both governments, and military officers are appointed by both to exercise the same powers. As a necessary consequence public opinion is divided. While many favor the new government there are others who are still loyal to the old. These last are led by Colonel Tipton.

Violence is practiced by one party, and replied to with greater violence by the other. A hand to hand fight between the leaders of the factions, Colonel Tipton and Colonel Sevier is an example readily followed by the adherents of each, and brawls between the members of the opposing parties are of common occurrence.

¹ Wheeler, p. 94.

Taxes are imposed by both Governments, and the people, pretending that they do not know to whom to pay them, do not pay them at all.

Affairs have reached a crisis in Frankland for want of money, and in 1787 the Legislature meets for the last time and authorizes the election of two representatives to attend the Legislature of North Carolina. The people also send members to the General Assembly, thus acknowledging the authority of North Carolina.

The property of Governor Sevier is levied on, he is arrested for resisting the law, and is carried to Morganton; but is allowed to escape on account of his services during the Revolution.¹

The Assembly of 1788 at Fayetteville passes an act of general oblivion and pardon to all concerned in the revolt, except John Sevier, who is debarred from all offices of trust, honor, or profit. So great a favorite is Sevier with the people, however, that in 1789 he is elected to represent Greene County in the Assembly. Such is the sense of his worth that the Legislature repeals the act disqualifying him from office, and on his taking the oath of allegiance he is allowed his seat.²

On the 25th of February, 1790, a deed for the western territory is executed to the United States in the words of the cession act, and in April, of the same year, Congress accepts the deed, and Tennessee is born.

In September Governor Martin announces by proclamation that he has received from the Secretary of State for the United States a copy of the act of Congress accepting the cession, and the inhabitants of the district in question "would take due notice thereof, and govern themselves accordingly."

In the meanwhile (1787), Samuel Johnston, of Chowan

¹ Moore's Hist., p. 153. ² Wheeler, p. 97.

is elected Governor. It is to his unwearied perseverance and zeal that we owe the adoption of the Federal Constitution.¹

Now the question of the future government of the States occupies the minds of all. Many favor a powerful central government, while others fear to part with too much of the liberty so dearly won.

A Convention of all the States is called to meet in Philadelphia. To this Convention North Carolina sends as delegates, Colonel Davie, ex-Governor Martin, Richard Dobbs Spaight, and William Blount.²

At Hillsboro, July 1788,³ a Convention meets to consider the Constitution proposed by the Philadelphia Convention.

Many leading men urge its immediate ratification while others oppose it on the ground that the powers reserved to the States are not sufficiently guarded. Debates⁴ run high concerning it and the populace of the country are divided in their opinions. It is said by some that if Sylla and Caesar, each in his turn, found ways and means * * * to hew his way to an imperial throne, how much easier may it be for a president of the United States to establish himself on a throne here * * * provided with sovereign power for the term of four years at once, and eligible to the same again at the expiration of that time; invested with sole command of the army * * * the way is in a manner open and plain before him * * * should he aim at sovereign power.

The convention,⁵ by a great majority adopts the view that the rights of the States are not sufficiently guarded, and refuses to ratify the Constitution, except on condition of certain amendments.

The spring of 1789 sees the government of the United

¹ Jones' Defense, p. 288. ² Wheeler, p. ... ³ Moore, p. 155. ⁴ Old letter, 1787. ⁵ Moore, pp. 155, 156.

States going into operation, George Washington being the first President of the Republic.

Alexander Martin is elected Governor of North Carolina for the second time, and in November a new Convention meets at Fayetteville and ratifies the Federal Constitution; the first ten amendments having been proposals to the Legislatures of the different States for ratification; thus removing the obstacle that had prevented its adoption at Hillsboro the year before.

The capital of the State¹ had been migrating from one town to another almost the whole of North Carolina's existence, and the Governor and his assistants lived where best suited them. The public records, also, had been moved many times.

But now the seat of Government is limited to some point in Wake County, and during Governor Martin's second term (1792) a large tract of land is bought and the city of Raleigh laid off.

Schools are being founded in different parts of the State, though in some the studies are limited to Latin and English grammar, and the Latin and Greek languages.²

The Halifax Constitution declared that "all useful learning shall be duly encouraged and promoted in one or more universities." Accordingly, in 1789, the University of North Carolina is established by incorporating Samuel Johnston and others Trustees; and in 1792 the Trustees locate the Institution at Chapel Hill, in Orange County. Eleven hundred acres of land are conveyed to the Trustees by the citizens of the neighborhood.³

The first native North Carolinian to hold the office of Governor is Richard Dobbs Spaight, who is elected in 1792.⁴

The close of the year 1792 finds our State growing in wealth and prosperity. Schools are springing up; the differ-

¹ Moore, p. 159. ² Old letter. ³ Wheeler, p. 117. ⁴ Moore, p. 160.

ent churches are extending their bounds. The country is becoming more thickly settled and thirteen¹ new counties have been formed. Self-rule is no longer an experiment, and North Carolina stands among her sister states with a history unstained by cruelty and oppression, and a record that demands a prominent place in the history of our country; for it was within her borders that the first American manifesto was made against the encroachments of power;² and it was her free people who first declared themselves independent of foreign rule.

Noblesse oblige!

"Heaven's blessings defend her!"

¹Wheeler, p. 6. ²Williamson, Vol. 1, p. 263.

ENFIELD FARM WHERE THE CULPEPPER REBELLION BEGAN

BY CATHERINE ALBERTSON.

Some two or three miles south of Elizabeth city on the banks of the Pasquotank river, just where that lovely stream suddenly broadens out into a wide and beautiful expanse, lies the old plantation known in our county from earliest days as Enfield Farm, sometimes Winfield.

It is hard to trace the original owners of the plantation, but the farm is probably part of the original patent granted in 1663 by Sir William Berkeley, one of the Lords Proprietors, to Mr. Thomas Relfe, "on account of his bringing into the colony fifteen persons and paying on St. Michael's day, the 29th of September, one shilling for every acre of land."

On this plantation close to the river shore, was erected about 1670, according to our local tradition, the home of the planter, two rooms of which are still standing and in good preservation. Possibly "Thomas Relfe, Gentleman," as he is styled in the colonial records, was the builder of this relic of bygone days, whose massive brick walls and stout timbers have for so long defied the onslaughts of time.

Many are the stories, legendary and historical, that have gathered around this ancient building. Among the most interesting of the latter is that connected with the Culpepper rebellion, an event as important in North Carolina history as Bacon's rebellion is in the history of Virginia.

The cause of Culpepper's rebellion dates back to the passing of the navigation act by Cromwell's Parliament, when that vigorous ruler held sway in England and over the American colonies. This act, later broadened and amended, finally prohibited the colonists not only from importing goods from Europe unless they were shipped from England, but

forbade the use of any but English vessels in the carrying trade; and finally declared that inter-colonial trade should cease, and that England alone should be the market for the buying and selling of goods on the part of the Americans. Naturally the colonies objected to such selfish restriction of their trade, and naturally there was much smuggling carried on wherever and whenever this avoidance of the navigation acts could be made in safety.

To none of the thirteen colonies were these laws more injurious than to the infant settlement on the northern shore of Albemarle Sound in Carolina. The sand bars along the coast prevented the establishment of a seaport from whence trade could be carried on with the mother country. The large, English built vessels could not pass through the shallow inlets that connect the Atlantic with the Carolina inland waterways. To have strictly obeyed the laws passed by the British Parliament would have been the death blow to the commerce and to the prosperity of the Albemarle settlement. So, for about fifteen years after George Durant bought his tract of land on Durant's Neck from Kilcokanen, the great chief of the Yeopims, the planters in Albemarle had paid but little attention to the trade laws. The Proprietors appointed no customs collectors in the little colony, and had not considered it worth their while to interfere with the trade which the shrewd New Englanders had built up in Carolina.

Enterprising Yankee ship-builders, realizing their opportunity, constructed staunch little vessels which could weather the seas, sail over to Europe, load up with goods necessary to the planter, return and glide down the coast till they found an opening between the dreaded bars, then, slipping from sound to sound, carry to the planters in the Albemarle region the cargoes for which they were waiting.

Another law requiring payment of an export tax on tobacco, then the principal crop of the Albemarle section, as it was of Virginia, was evaded for many years by the settlers in this region. Governors Drummond and Stevens, and John Jenkins, president of the council, must have known of this disregard of the laws, both on the part of the Yankee skippers and the Albemarle planters. But realizing that too strict an adherence to England's trade laws would mean ruin to the colonists, these officers were conveniently blind to the illegal proceeding of their people.

But after the organization of the board of trade in London, of which four of the Proprietors were members, the rulers of Carolina determined to enforce the laws more strictly among their subjects in far-away Carolina. Sir Timothy Biggs, of the Little River settlement, was appointed surveyor of customs and Valentine Byrd, of Pasquotank, collector of customs, with orders to enforce the navigation acts and other trade laws, so long disregarded.

There was violent opposition to this decision of the Lords, as was to have been expected, but finally the settlers were persuaded to allow the officers to perform their duty. Valentine Byrd, himself one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Albemarle, was by no means rigid or exacting in collecting the tobacco tax, and for several years longer, though the laws were ostensibly observed, numerous ways were found to evade them. The colonists, however, were by no means satisfied, for though they were successful in avoiding a strict adherence to the laws, and in continuing their trade with New England, still the fact that the hated acts were in force at all was to them a thorn in the flesh.

Matters soon reached a crisis, and the smouldering feeling of resentment against the Proprietors broke out in an open rebellion. In 1676 the Lords appointed Thomas Eastchurch governor of Albemarle and Thomas Miller collector of cus-

toms for that settlement. Both of these men, who were then in London, had previously lived in Albemarle and incurred the enmity of some of the leading men in the settlement, Eastchurch especially being in bad repute among the planters.

In 1777, Eastchurch and Miller departed from London to take up their duties in Carolina. Stopping at the Island of Nevis on their way over, Eastchurch became enamored of the charms (and the fortune) of a fair creole who there abode, and dallied on the island until he succeeded in winning the lady's hand. And Miller, whom Eastchurch appointed as his deputy in Carolina, continued on his way alone. When he reached Albemarle the people received him kindly and allowed him to fill Eastchurch's place. But no sooner had he assumed the reins of government than he began a rigid enforcement of the trade and navigation laws. Of course, the planters resented his activity in this direction and most bitterly did they resent his compelling a strict payment of the tobacco tax. Possibly, however, no open rebellion would have occurred had not Miller proceeded to high-handed and arbitrary deeds, making himself so obnoxious to the people that finally they were wrought up to such an inflammable state of mind that only a spark was needed to light the flames of revolution.

And that spark was kindled in December, 1677, when Captain Zachary Gilliam, a shrewd New England ship-master, came into the colony in his little vessel "The Carolina," bringing with him besides the supplies needed by the planters for the winter days at hand ammunition and firearms which a threatened Indian uprising made necessary for the safety of the settlers' homes.

On board the "Carolina" was George Durant, the first settler in the colony, and the acknowledged leader in public affairs in Albemarle. He had been over to England to con-

sult the Lords Proprietors concerning matters relating to the colony, and was returning to his home on Durant's Neck.

Through the inlet at Ocracoake the "Carolina" slipped, over the broad waters of Pamlico Sound, past Roanoke Island, home of Virginia Dare, and into Albemarle Sound. Then up the blue waters of the Pasquotank she sailed with "Jack ancient flag and pennant flying," as Miller indignantly relates until she came to anchor, at Captain Crawford's landing, just off the shore from Enfield Farm.

Gladly did the bluff captain and the jovial planter row ashore from their sea-tossed berths. Many were the friendly greetings extended them, both prime favorites among the settlers, who came hurrying down to Enfield when the news of the "Carolina's" arrival spread through the community. Eager questions assailed them on every side concerning news of loved ones in the mother country; and a busy day did Captain Gilliam put in, chaffering and bargaining with the planters who anxiously surrounded him in quest of long needed supplies.

Durant, though doubtless impatient to proceed as quickly as possible to his home and family in Perquimans, nevertheless spent the day pleasantly enough talking to his brother planters, Valentine Bryd, Samuel Pricklove, and others, and all was going merrily on as a marriage bell when suddenly Deputy Governor Miller appeared on the scene, accused Gilliam of having contraband goods on board and of having evaded the export tax on tobacco when he sailed out of port with his cargo a year before. A violent altercation arose, in which the planters, with few exceptions, sided with Gilliam, who indignantly (if not quite truthfully) denied the charges brought against him.

Miller at last withdrew, muttering imprecations and threats against Gilliam, but about ten o'clock that night he returned with several government officials, boarded the "Carolina"

and attempted to arrest both Gilliam and Durant. The planters, among whom were Valentine Byrd, Captain Crawford, Captain Jenkins and John Culpepper, hearing of the disturbance, anxious for the safety of their friends, and fearing lest Gilliam should sail away before they had concluded their purchases, came hurrying in hot haste to the rescue. Rowing swiftly out to the little vessel they quickly turned the tables on the governor and his officials; and to their indignant surprise, Miller and his men found themselves prisoners in the hands of the rebels. Then the insurgents, with John Culpepper, now the acknowledged leader of the revolt, at their head, rowed ashore to the landing with their captives; and in the old house at Enfield, on a bluff near the bank of the river—so goes our local tradition—the angry and astonished governor was imprisoned.

Then the revolutionists proceeded to "Little River Poynte," probably the settlement which afterwards grew into the town of Nixonton, and seized Timothy Biggs, the surveyor and deputy collector of customs, who had been wringing the tobacco tax from the farmers. Then breaking open the chests and the locks, they found and took possession of Miller's commission as collector of customs and returned to Enfield, where they locked Biggs up with Miller in Captain Crawford's house.

For two weeks the deputy governor and the deputy collector were kept close prisoners at Enfield. The revolutionists in the meanwhile drew up a document known as "The Remonstrance of the Inhabitants of Pasquotank," in which they stated the grievances that had led them to take this high handed manner of circumventing Miller and Biggs in their tyrannical proceedings. This "remonstrance" was sent to the precincts of Currituck, Perquimans and Chowan, and the planters, following the example of their neighbors in Pasquotank rose in insurrection against the other collectors of

the hated customs and export tax, and arrested and deposed the collectors.

At the end of a fortnight the insurgents decided to take Miller and Biggs to George Durant's home in Durant's Neck. So the prisoners were taken on board one of the planters' vessels; and down the Pasquotank, into the sound, and a short distance up Little River, the rebels sailed, accompanied by several vessels filled with armed men. As they passed the "Carolina," that saucy little ship which, as Miller afterwards indignantly reported to the Lords Proprietors, "Had in all these confusions rid with Jack, Ensign, Flag and pennon flying," just off the shore from Enfield saluted Culpepper, Durant and their companions by firing three of her guns.

Arrived at Durant's home, where some seventy prominent men of the colony had assembled, the revolutionists proceeded to establish a government of their own. John Culpepper was appointed Governor, an assembly of eighteen men was elected, a court convened before which Miller and Biggs were brought for trial on a charge of treason. But before the trial was ended Governor Eastchurch, who had arrived in Virginia while these affairs were taking place, sent a proclamation to the insurgents commanding them to disperse and return to their homes. This the bold planters refused to do, and in further defiance of Eastchurch the new officials sent an armed force to prevent his coming into the colony.

Eastchurch appealed to Virginia to help him establish his authority in Carolina; but while he was collecting forces for this purpose he fell ill and died. Durant, Culpepper, Byrd and their comrades were now masters in Albemarle.

The interrupted trials were never completed. Biggs managed to escape and made his way to England. Miller was kept a prisoner for two years in a little log cabin built for the purpose at the upper end of Pasquotank, near where

the old brick house now stands. In two years' time Miller also contrived to escape, and found his way back to the mother country.

For ten years the Albemarle colony prospered under the wise and prudent management of the officers whom the people had put in charge of affairs without leave or license from lord or king. But finally Culpepper and Durant decided of their own accord to give up their authority and restore the management of affairs to the Proprietors. An amicable settlement was arranged with these owners of Albemarle, who realizing the wrongs the settlers had suffered at the hands of Miller and his associates, made no attempt to punish the leaders of the rebellion. John Harvey was quietly installed as temporary governor until Seth Sothel, one of the Proprietors could come to take up the reins of government himself.

So at Enfield Farm, now the property of one of Pasquotank's most successful farmers and business men, Mr. Jephtha Winslow, began a disturbance which culminated a hundred years later in the revolutionary war; and here, in embryo form, in 1677, was the beginning of our republic—"a government of the people, for the people, by the people."

BIOGRAPHICAL AND GENEOLOGICAL MEMORANDA

COMPILED AND EDITED BY MRS. E. E. MOFFITT.

Mrs. GEORGIA BRYAN MARTIN,
(Nèe Miss Georgia Bryan Worth.)

The article entitled "North Carolina, 1782-1793," was written by Miss Georgia Bryan Worth, of the Fayetteville Seminary, and it is reproduced in this issue of THE BOOKLET for its accuracy of historical data.

Mrs. Martin was the daughter of Mr. John M. Worth (now dead) and his wife Mrs. Josephine Bryan Worth, the daughter of Josiah E. and Sarah Hodges Bryan, of Pender County, N. C. She was granddaughter of Mr. Joseph Addison Worth and Mrs. Fatima (Walker) Worth, long residents of Fayetteville, N. C. She was born and reared in Fayetteville and educated in the Fayetteville Seminary where the facilities for education were unusually good. She was devoted to the study of history, especially that relating to her own State. She was a musician of ability, and was the organist of St. John's Church for four years. She was married to William Mortimer Martin in June, 1902. She died in August, 1905, leaving two children.

Mrs. Martin's antecedents were of pioneer stock on her maternal side. She was descended from John Evans who emigrated to America with William Penn and was Governor of the Colony when Penn returned to England in 1682 and he was Proprietary Governor of Pennsylvania in 1704. She was also a descendant of Caleb Pusey, one of the founders of Pennsylvania. She is a direct descendant of Col. Needham Bryant, the Revolutionary Patriot of North Carolina, who served at the Battle of Alamance in 1771, and afterwards was a member of the Provincial Congress, New Bern, Au-

gust 25, 1774. On her paternal side she is descended from three signers of the Mayflower Compact of 1620—Carver, Howland and Tilly.

This Compact was an agreement or covenant or coöperative act, from which was to spring not only a stable government for the little Colony, but a great series of Consitutions for free States.

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INFORMATION

Concerning *the* Patriotic Society

"Daughters of the Revolution"

The General Society was founded October 11, 1890,—and organized August 20, 1891,—under the name of "Daughters of the American Revolution"; was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York as an organization national in its work and purpose. Some of the members of this organization becoming dissatisfied with the terms of entrance, withdrew from it and, in 1891, formed under the slightly differing name "Daughters of the Revolution," eligibility to which from the moment of its existence has been *lineal* descent from an ancestor who rendered patriotic service during the War of Independence.

"The North Carolina Society"

a subdivision of the General Society, was organized in October, 1896, and has continued to promote the purposes of its institution and to observe the Constitution and By-Laws.

Membership and Qualifications

Any woman shall be eligible who is above the age of eighteen years of good character, and a *lineal* descendant of an ancestor who (1) was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a member of the Continental Congress, Legislature or General Court, of any of the Colonies or States; or (2) rendered civil, military or naval service under the authority of any of the thirteen Colonies, or of the Continental Congress; or (3) by service rendered during the War of the Revolution became liable to the penalty of treason against the government of Great Britain: *Provided*, that such ancestor always remained loyal to the cause of American independence.

The chief work of the North Carolina Society for the past eight years has been the publication of the "North Carolina Booklet," a quarterly publication of great events in North Carolina history—Colonial and Revolutionary. \$1.00 per year. It will continue to extend its work and to spread the knowledge of its History and Biography in other States.

This Society has its headquarters in Raleigh, N. C., Room 411, Carolina Trust Company Building, 232 Fayetteville Street.

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